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CHOLERA: THE LESSON OF PRECEDING EPIDEMICS.

CHOLERA, the scourge of Asia, which has been prevailing for some months past as an epidemic in Northern and Western Europe and threatening our own shores, is a disease with which I had considerable experience when it appeared here in 1866. I proved conclusively then that it could be checked and controlled at quarantine. The people therefore need have no apprehension of the disease if they will take rigorous precautions, and, as it is important to allay the fears of a panic, which of itself is provocative of disease, I have thought it my duty to explain the results of my observations and to make such suggestions as may be of benefit to the country.

The most important fact about cholera, a fact to bear in mind and to emphasize, is that it is a disease which is never generated on this continent and can come here only by importation. It has never travelled faster than it could be conveyed by sea or by land, and it has always followed the track of human migrations or of commerce. After every visitation in America or in Europe, it has been completely stamped out in both these continents. When it has come again it has always been brought from its home and breeding-place—Asia.

The portability of cholera as distinguished from diffusion in some mysterious way through the atmosphere has now been so plainly and so frequently demonstrated that there is no longer any controversy about it. But so late as 1866 there lingered a belief in its mysterious and uncontrollable propagation. This belief lingered not only among the unlearned, but in the medical profession, and it not only lingered but was stubbornly maintained. When in the winter of 1865–66,

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while I was Resident Physician, cholera was brought into the harbor of New York and successfully kept from coming ashore, its portability was denied. I was even ridiculed for maintaining that it was necessary to prevent persons and baggage from the infected ship from coming ashore. As a curious instance of the stubbornness of a theory in the face of facts, I recall the action of the Consulting Physicians in Boston, who on November 11, 1865 (City Document No. 95 of the City of Boston), "under a deep sense of their responsibility in expressing their opinion," declared "unequivocally their convictions that the disease is neither contagious nor infectious; that it cannot be propagated by being near the sick nor by handling the secretions or excretions from bodies of the sick or of the dead." They declared that "the disease is epidemic and cannot be restrained or controlled in its progress by quarantines or cordons of any kind." This remarkable document went on:

> "The Consulting Physicians, being of the opinion that neither quarantines by sea nor sanitary cordons by land have ever been found or can be made effectual in protecting cities or communities from the visitation of cholera, recommend that no such restrictions be made; but in order to produce tranquillity in the public mind, and from respect to the opinions of those who think differently, they think it might be well that vessels coming from places in which the disease exists should be made subject to the visitation of the Port Physician, but that none of the passengers or crew should be in any way restrained from freely communicating with their friends on shore or with the city, or from landing at any time with their personal baggage and effects; and no vessel should be detained in quarantine longer than is absolutely necessary to put her in a cleanly condition."

It is proper to say that soon after this official document was published, Dr. William Read, who was then City Physician of Boston, changed his opinion and frankly declared himself in favor of rigid quarantine.[1]

[1] In City Document No. 21 (city of Boston) Dr. Read wrote in 1866: "Since then (November 11, 1865), evidence has been accumulating so direct in its bearing upon this point and from sources so reliable that I have been compelled to change my opinion. The vital importance to this community of thoroughly appreciating and clearly understanding the modes by which cholera is propagated from one locality to another, as noticed abroad, and the deep feeling of my own responsibility in the matter, have induced me to lay before your honorable body, somewhat at length, the evidence upon which this change of opinion has been based. The sources of this evidence are the medical journals of this country and Europe, especially the London 'Medical Times' and 'Gazette' and the '*Archives de Générale de Médecine*' of Paris, in which are to be found reports and papers upon this disease and its progress from the earliest history to the present epidemic; many of them written on the spot where the epidemic was raging, and accepted by the profession at large as entirely credible authority."

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This contention of nearly thirty years ago is recalled now chiefly as a curiosity; for since that time proofs have accumulated that leave no doubt in any mind of the habit of the disease in extending its deadly area. But there is no other fact so important as the fact that it never spreads mysteriously but is always trânsported, because its portability points the way to a sure method and the only sure method of prevention. But before dismissing the subject of the portability of the disease, it may be interesting to cite instances of its transmission.[1]

In November, 1848, the disease manifested itself at sea, on board of two emigrant vessels, bound the one for New York and the other for New Orleans. At the time of its appearance on these vessels they had been out, one sixteen days and the other twenty-seven days from Havre, which was unaffected at the time of their departure. The infection that came on the vessel bound for New York did not extend beyond the limits of the Staten Island Hospital after the arrival of the infected ship there; but at New Orleans it spread rapidly, not only in the hospital, but in the city, although it did not exist at the time in any other part of the United States. It appeared at Memphis toward the end of December; at St. Louis in the first week in January, 1849; and at several places on the upper Mississippi in March; Chicago and other towns situated on the great lakes were affected in May. It was not till then that New York was visited by the epidemic, notwithstanding the importation of the disease at Staten Island and the occurrence of several cases in the hospital there nearly six months before. At about the same time it appeared in Philadelphia and other seaboard cities.

At this visitation, therefore, cholera was kept from entering New York from an infected ship, but it succeeded in making its way overland, following the track of commerce, six months later. A detailed statement of the appearance of the disease on board the ship that was bound to New York was made by Dr. Marsden. The vessel was the ship "New York," which sailed from Havre on November 9, 1848. When it reached the North Atlantic waters the weather became cold, and one of the German emigrants, who had come from a place where the cholera prevailed, opened a chest of clothing which belonged to a person who had died of the disease. This was on November 22, and at 2 o'clock in the afternoon a child was taken ill and died at 8

[1] See my report as Resident Physician of New York for the year 1865, presented to the Board of Commissioners of Health January 4, 1866. These instances, mentioned therein, are as convincing now as they were then.

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o'clock. A day or two later four men were stricken, two of whom died, and others took the disease before the ship arrived at Staten Island. The reason, therefore, why cholera did not appear on board the vessel until a much longer period than the usual period of incubation was that the disease was carried in the packed-up clothing, and persons did not come in contact with the clothing until the trunks or boxes were opened. Just as the passengers on this ship opened their boxes to get warmer clothing because the weather had become colder, so on the ship bound for New Orleans trunks and boxes were opened to get lighter clothing as they came into warmer weather on their journey southward. If this clothing had never been touched the disease would never have appeared on either ship.

Still earlier, namely, in 1832, the date of the first visitation of the disease to this country, it was developed first in the locality where the first vessel with cholera on board landed her passengers. It followed the arrival of the brig "Amelia," which in a stranded condition put in at Folly Island, on the coast of South Carolina, and the only cases there occurred among those who had been employed about the wreck. At Detroit the first cases made their appearance after the arrival of the steamer "Henry Clay," in July, which had cholera on board. It broke out at St. Michaels, a previously healthy village on the eastern shore of Maryland, just after the landing of Captain Dodson, who died the morning after his arrival. It was brought to Illinois by Captain Blakeman, who had been to St. Louis, where the disease had spread, and who had died of it on his return. It was not seen at Key West until the arrival of the "Ajax," in a distressed condition, which had sailed from New Orleans, where the disease was prevailing, and which had the cholera on board at the time.[1]

In 1831 the British Government sent two physicians, Dr. Russell and Dr. Barry, to Russia to investigate cholera, and the official report based on their investigations contained the following information, which has since then been many times confirmed:

"The extension of the disease from Hindostan has been gradual, never too rapid to have been carried by man; it has been in all directions and in continued lines; it has been in opposition to the course of the winds as well as in accordance with that course; it has been very little influenced either by climate or the season of the year; and it has continued for many years under all varieties of weather."

[1] The foregoing instances were reported by Dr. Mulig, physician to the Russian Embassy at Constantinople.

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Another instance is quoted:

"In one instance the clothes, mattresses, etc., of the sick were washed at a fountain, and unfortunately, the waste-pipe being broken, the foul water communicated with the clean; and in one day sixty people died at Tatavola, a small portion of the city which was supplied by this infected stream."

Dr. Felix Niemeyer, Professor of Medicine in the University of Tübingen, cites these facts[1] from the Magdeburg epidemic of 1859: The cholera was brought into Magdeburg by a transport filled with recruits from Stettin, which was at that time visited by the disease; and during the first week after their arrival cases occurred only in the street in which the sick recruits had their quarters for the night. In Greifswald, a small and thinly built place, during a little epidemic which he had an opportunity to observe, Dr. Niemeyer proved in every instance that the individuals attacked with the disease had used the privies of the houses in which there were cholera patients or into which cholera discharges had been emptied.

Dr. Henry E. Bartlett, who was Health Officer of the port of New York in 1854, has left on record the following conclusions from his observations, which he advanced "with entire certainty":

"First, that with thorough cleansing and disinfecting (by chlorine or otherwise) of the baggage, clothing, or other effects that have been in contact with the secretions or excretions (or emanations from them) of cholera patients, the further development of the disease may be prevented.

"Second, that unless the most entire isolation of all passengers in vessels from ports where the cholera prevails is enforced while this is being done, the disease is sure to manifest itself in the vicinity sooner or later."

Among other confirmatory facts relating to the spread of the disease I will recall the case of John Wilson, a celebrated vocalist, who died of Asiatic cholera on the 9th of July, 1849, in St. George's Hotel, in Quebec, as it was reported to me by Dr. Marsden, of Quebec. The hotel was kept by a Mr. Russel. On the death of the patient Dr. Marsden advised Russel to destroy the clothing of the dead man, as well as the mattress, which was saturated with the secretions. The clothing was destroyed. The rooms were then disinfected. The mattress, however, being of some value was not destroyed, but removed to the roof of another hotel in Palace Street (also kept by Russel), contrary to the physician's orders and without his knowledge, where it remained for some weeks exposed to the weather, until the uphol-

[1] Translated for the "Medical and Surgical Journal" of Buffalo (December, 1865) by Dr. Theo. A. McGraw.

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sterer who carried it there told Russel what he had done, and asked to be permitted to tear out the hair and wash it and to remake the mattress. On Russel's refusing to comply with his request, the upholsterer said that he was not afraid of cholera, and if Russel would permit him he would take it home and clean and disinfect it for himself. Although again ordered to destroy it, he nevertheless took it home to his lodgings, No. 19 St. Stanislaus Street, and began tearing out the hair. Before he had done more than one-half he was attacked with cholera, died in a few hours, and was buried the same day. His wife caused the mattress to be destroyed, and she was not stricken with the disease.

Another case reported by Dr. Marsden is as follows: A sailor died in some port in Europe, of Asiatic cholera, in 1832. A chest containing his personal effects, clothing, etc., was sent home to his family, who lived at a small village in Maine. It reached the village about Christmas, 1832, and was opened. The inmates of the house were all immediately and suddenly seized with a disease resembling Asiatic cholera in all its malignity and died.

Early in December, 1853,[1] an emigrant ship from Europe, bound to New Orleans, appeared in distress off the northwest end of St. Thomas Island, W. I., opposite Estate Hull. She was boarded by negroes from the estate, who for services rendered received the clothing of some passengers who had died during the voyage. Under their direction the ship came round to the south side and entered the port of St. Thomas. There was no apparent sickness on board, and during the two weeks that the vessel remained in harbor the emigrants repeatedly came ashore and mingled freely with the inhabitants. On the 16th of December five deaths occurred suddenly on Estate Hull, and the attending physicians pronounced the disease Asiatic cholera. The island of St. Thomas is three miles in width by twelve miles long, consisting of a range of hills from 1,400 to 1,700 feet elevation and running due east and west. Estate Hull lies on the northwest end of the island, and from this point, passing over the hills and against the trade-winds, the cholera travelled, touching upon intervening estates, until, on the 23d of December, it reached the west end of the town, still passing eastward until the whole island was invaded. It raged forty-five days, and out of a population of 13,666 over one-ninth, or 1,681, died, mostly negroes. The mortality seemed to be confined to certain localities. The town is built on four hills. Through the in-

[1] This instance was reported to me by Dr. James S. Knox.

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tervening valleys ran gullies, which were the common receptacle of all excrement and garbage. But few of the houses had sinks or privies, and in the ravines the filth was thrown nightly. The whites occupied the hills, the negroes densely populated the valleys. The whites were seldom attacked, the negroes perished by hundreds.

It was the cumulative evidence of such facts that convinced the scientific students of the disease of its nature; and it is such cumulative evidence, I conceive, that at a time like this will most strongly impress upon the people the most important fact for the public safety that it is necessary to bear in mind and to act on, viz., that the disease is always carried from place to place, and does not spread in any mysterious way.

It follows, then, that its spread can always and everywhere—in Europe and America at least—be absolutely prevented by quarantine. This has been proved time and again. An interesting demonstration made by Dr. Rich at the Cholera Lazaretto in the Balearic Islands and at Malta in 1834 is on record. He observed that the persons who had charge of the privies and the dejections of the patients were most likely to be attacked by the disease, and suspected that this was the principal source of its propagation. Having observed in Sicily that the choicest wines were preserved from evaporation by being placed in jars and covered with an inch of olive oil in place of a cork, he conceived the idea of constructing receptacles for all the dejections to be covered with oil in the same way, and thus prevent the escape of noxious gases. He made for the purpose large vessels partially filled with water, and poured on it one inch of common fish oil. Into these vessels all the excretions and soiled clothing were placed, and a jet of chlorine gas forced into them to saturation before they were permitted to be handled by the assistants. After the adoption of this plan not a case occurred among the assistants who had charge of this department of the hospital, whereas previous to its adoption they had died at the rate of from two to five a day.

Another instance: In 1832 the town of Three Rivers, equidistant from Quebec and Montreal, where steamers were in the habit of touching and landing and embarking passengers daily, established an *impromptu* system of quarantine, founded on non-intercourse, preventing any person from landing there during the prevalence of cholera; and not one case occurred there, while Quebec and Montreal numbered the dead by thousands.

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A British soldier, Capt. E. C. F. Montague, who had served in India, where cholera is endemic, and who had seen thousands upon thousands of cases, told me the following experience: He said that it was a military custom to place any village or town where cholera appeared under military cordon and prohibit any ingress or egress; and in no instance had the disease escaped the cordon where the picket duty had been rigidly enforced. He had personally picketed towns where the disease was epidemic. Here, as I pointed out in my report, referred to above, is the personal observation of an individual who for eight years witnessed the disease.

On the coming of the disease to the United States in 1873 its course, in confirmation of the foregoing views, was as follows: In December, 1872, and in January, 1873, there arrived at New Orleans immigrants from the cholera-infected districts of Europe, and on February 9 the first death occurred at New Orleans. It was carried thereafter as follows: the first case at Vicksburg, April 8; the first case at Memphis, April 15; the first case at St. Louis, May 11; the first case at Paducah, Ky., May 21; the first case at Chicago, May 24; the first death at Cincinnati, June 15; the first case at Little Rock, June 30 (where it was prevented from spreading); and during this time the disease appeared in about two hundred cities and towns in the Mississippi valley. During the same visitation there were two conspicuous instances of the success of isolation. At Atlanta, Ga., where there was then a population of 22,000 people, an authenticated case of cholera (a refugee from Chattanooga) occurred on July 2, and the patient died; but by prompt and energetic action of the physicians who had the case in charge the disease was confined to this single individual, and the health of the other residents of the house and of the community was successfully guarded. About the same time there was a similar experience at Dalton, Ga., which had a population then of 5,000 people, where a well-authenticated fatal case of cholera appeared on July 3. In this case, as in the case at Atlanta, the patient had come from Chattanooga. By proper isolation and disinfection no other case appeared in Dalton.[1]

In 1866 a vessel arrived in our bay with cases of cholera on board. All the sick were in one end of the boat, all being steerage passengers. Dr. Swinburne was then Health Officer, and as Resident

[1] For this *résumé* and other historical facts about the epidemics in the United States I am indebted to the Tennessee "State Board of Health Bulletin," reprinted in the "Journal of the American Medical Association" for Sept. 3, 1892.

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Physician I had occasion to render aid. I had a space cleared between the part of the vessel occupied by the sick and the other part, and in this space were placed vessels containing carbolic acid. The dividing line was rigidly watched, the guards having been armed and instructed to shoot any person that tried to pass. Not a person outside the part of the vessel where the sick were confined was stricken. Any city or community or continent, therefore, may keep itself free from cholera by a rigid system of quarantine. In fact, if routes of commerce and of travel from Asia were properly guarded the disease could never come into Europe.

At this time, at the request of the mayor of New York and the Commissioners of Health, I went to Washington and had an interview with General Delafield, to secure authority to make a quarantine station at Sandy Hook, which is the best location about New York harbor for such a purpose. Permission was granted, and we selected a beautiful spot, with the Shrewsbury River on one side and the ocean on the other, so located that but a small space needed to be guarded. Immediately the State authorities of New Jersey made a protest, asserting that the grant of title to Sandy Hook by the State of New Jersey to the National Government was such that the property would revert to the State if it were used for other than military purposes, since the grant had been made to the National Government for military purposes only. It was satisfactorily shown in the controversy that followed that this contention on the part of the State of New Jersey was based on error, and that the National Government's title to Sandy Hook was clear. We were, however, at that time prevented from making a hospital there for the cholera patients, and we were obliged to use the boat "Florence Nightingale" for this purpose. It is interesting to note that this ideal location for such a hospital has at last been made use of by authority of the War Department.

If quarantine be a successful method of prevention by communities and by continents, the same method is applicable (to a great degree) to personal prevention of the disease when it has invaded a community. As Dr. Niemeyer, whom I quoted above, pointed out, cholera is not communicated directly from one person to another, even under circumstances of the greatest intimacy; yet it is spread only by patients afflicted with the disease. By means of one infected person in whom the disease has manifested itself by only an apparently insignificant diarrhœa, cholera can be conveyed to a whole locality. This person may travel without further development of the disorder,

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but he may leave behind him matter which may give rise to the most deadly epidemic. It is thus no longer inexplicable how the cholera in its wanderings takes no defined course, but spreads indifferently, now from west to east, now from east to west; now with the wind and now against it; in cold weather as in warm weather; how it always follows the routes of travel; how it does not go from place to place in a shorter time than is required for men to travel the same distance, and how, since the building of railways, it has been able to spread more quickly than before. Sometimes it has made great leaps. In the localities visited by the disease, the houses and streets in which those infected reside are of course the places of the greatest danger. It has happened that a single house or street has for a long time been the only infected locality. But while those buildings or neighborhoods first visited by the cholera are being depopulated, the infection sooner or later is easily communicated to other houses and streets, partly by means of common privies and partly by other ways, surely by water if by any means the water supply has been affected. Especially is it necessary vigilantly to guard the water supply. A recent issue of the "British Medical Journal" cites this instructive experience:[1]

When the cholera was epidemic in England in 1866 Mr. Ernest Hart was convinced that its spread had been caused by the pollution of the water. He sent a competent inspector, Mr. J. Netten Radcliffe, to make an investigation. Mr. Radcliffe discovered that in the waterworks of the East London Company certain changes had been made in the filtering apparatus, and that for a brief period unfiltered or imperfectly filtered water had been allowed to pass into the pipes and reservoirs from which the population were supplied. This supply came direct from the River Lea. After a thorough investigation it was ascertained that just at the time of the defect in the filtering apparatus the river had been infected with the discharges from cholera patients in a cottage from which the sewers entered directly into the river. In this cottage there had been a family suffering from the disease. No doubt was left by this thorough investigation but that the infection of the waters of the river from this source spread the disease. There were sixteen thousand victims of it from this single source of contagion.

As long ago as 1866 I endeavored to arouse sentiment at Washington to a realization of the necessity of the management of quaran-

[1] Summarized from the "Journal" in the London "Times" of August 26, 1892.

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tine along our whole coast by the National Government. While the cholera was then in the port of New York I wrote:

"We therefore see the necessity for Congress or the General Government taking possession of this matter and enforcing a uniformity of quarantine regulations at every port of entry. The Government establishes a port of entry, collects a revenue, and has the right to close the port of entry, and should, therefore, perform the duties connected with a port of entry, one of which is a proper quarantine establishment, kept under military regulation, by which it may be rendered uniform and efficient. It sometimes happens that the port of entry, as in our own city, lies upon a river bordering on two States, and the port may be in one State and the most advantageous place for a quarantine under the jurisdiction of another. This conflict of jurisdiction renders it essential that it should be placed under the control of the General Government. The General Government would not hesitate to take possession of any place where it could best protect the country from an invasion by a foreign foe, irrespective of State boundaries or State jurisdiction, were it to come in the form of an armed fleet. How much more necessary, then, that the same precautions should be taken against a secret foe of pestilence and poison vastly more destructive to human life than a fleet equipped with Armstrong guns. As there are also many ports of entry, it is necessary that the General Government should assume this control in order that their action should be uniform."

This is the lesson that should be learned from the present danger. Whether or not the recent proclamation ordering a twenty-days' quarantine of all vessels bringing emigrants did violence to the Executive authority, it was a patriotic act that all who realize the danger of the scourge will applaud, and it points in the right direction. That the General Government has not the authority to police our whole coast-line at such a time is proof of the slow pace with which our laws follow scientific advancement. So long as this frightful disease may by negligence or ignorance enter any small port and thence spread over the whole country, the lives of our citizens and our whole commerce are at the mercy of local ignorance or negligence. And times of danger, with the constantly increasing facilities for travel, come with greater and greater frequency.

The first visitation of cholera to America was at Quebec, in June, 1832. Two days afterward it appeared in Montreal. On June 24 New York was attacked, then Albany, Philadelphia, Cincinnati, and New Orleans. The disease reached its height in New York on July 21. It lingered in America for four years, and in the four largest cities, viz., Quebec, Montreal, New York, and Philadelphia, there were 8,000 deaths out of 18,000 cases. It did not come again to the United States until 1848, when it was brought into the bay of

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New York by a ship from Havre, but it did not then get ashore. The next year, however, it was brought into New York City and spread over the greater part of the Eastern and Middle States, and it did not disappear wholly until 1855. In 1865 it was brought into New York harbor again, but as has already been explained it did not reach the city. But the next year, about the beginning of May, it occurred in the city and again spread over the country, following the lines of travel. It kept its hold in the United States during 1867. Its next appearance here was in 1873. Although since 1873 it has frequently spread in Europe (in 1884 in France, in 1885 in Spain and in Sicily, in 1886 in Italy, and from 1884 to 1887 an epidemic which had a total of 250,000 victims in all European countries), and although in 1887 the steamship "Alesia" arrived at New York from Marseilles with cholera on board, proper precautions prevented its reaching the United States during this great scourge of 1884–87. The present epidemic did not appear in Europe till June, and its progress has been unusually rapid.

The rapidity with which the disease is now conveyed from continent to continent has brought a new element of peril. But our National laws have not in this respect kept pace with the increased dangers caused by modern modes of travel nor with the prodigious advance of scientific prevention in dealing with epidemics. In the United States we shall never be safe till the National Government is awakened to proper action—and not our Government only, but all the other Governments on the American continent as well—Canada, Mexico, and the Central and South American States. It was through Canada that the disease first came to this continent. Nor has South America been exempt. Cholera was introduced into Buenos Ayres in November, 1886, by a ship from Genoa—an instance that the State "Board of Health Bulletin" of Tennessee calls a "conspicuous instance of official pride and stupidity." It became epidemic and was carried to the inland provinces. In January of the next year it was carried to Montevideo, and the city of Santiago suffered greatly. If all the American Governments were to unite in making a scientific effort to prevent the landing of the disease in the territory of any of them, they would be acting each in self-defence, and cholera need not appear anywhere on the whole American continent.

LEWIS A. SAYRE.

September 16, 1892.

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OUR PUBLIC-SCHOOL SYSTEM: EVILS IN BALTIMORE.

DURING a recent journey extending over a period of more than five months made for the purpose of studying our public schools, I collected a large amount of material, the essential features of which will be published in this and in a number of succeeding articles in the FORUM, under the auspices of which magazine the travels were made.

In undertaking this work my aim was not only to find what methods of instruction were followed in our public schools, but also to discover the reasons why the schools of some localities were so far inferior to those of others. I hoped in this manner to learn something concerning the causes underlying certain educational evils, fully conscious of the fact that the first logical step in permanently raising the standard of the schools must necessarily be the eradication of the causes of their inferiority. This necessitated two distinct series of observations: one for the purpose of learning the actual condition of the schools of any given locality, and the other for the purpose of studying the general management of the schools of that locality, in order that the connection between the manner in which the schools were conducted and their general degree of excellence might be discovered.

In studying the condition of the schools, I relied upon one thing only, namely, personal observation of the instruction as carried on in the class-room. I placed no reliance whatever upon reports printed by school officials regarding the condition of their schools, for the reason that experience had taught me that many of these officers displayed a wonderful talent for praising the institutions in their charge. I endeavored, therefore, to witness as much actual teaching as possible, in consequence of which I passed, with few exceptions, all the school hours of every school day during the entire trip, which lasted continuously from January 7 to June 25 (of this year), in class-rooms. I was thus enabled to observe upward of twelve hundred teachers at their work. In all, the schools of thirty-six cities and some twenty institutions for the training of teachers were visited.

In the investigations made concerning the general management of the schools, the study of the by-laws of the various boards of educa-

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tion proved of some value. For the rest, I was necessarily compelled to rely, in great part, upon information received from superintendents, principals, teachers, and others in position to know how the schools of their own locality were conducted. And, when possible, I attended board and teachers' meetings, as well as teachers' institutes.

The length of time devoted to the study of the schools of any particular locality varied considerably. It depended upon whether the conditions were comparatively simple or complicated, upon the number of schools in that locality, and, to a great extent, upon the special information which I sought there. In some cities nearly two weeks were spent in collecting the required data, while in others these were comfortably obtained in one day, or even less. The tour was made under exceptionally favorable circumstances, as I was limited neither in regard to time nor to the territory to be covered. I consequently selected my own route, changing it whenever I thought it advisable to do so, and continued my researches until the number of observations made justified my drawing certain definite conclusions. The following places were visited: Boston, Quincy, Lowell, Worcester, Springfield, and Holyoke, Mass.; Hartford, Conn.; New York City, Brooklyn, Yonkers, and Buffalo, N.Y.; Philadelphia, Pa.; Baltimore, Md.; Washington, D. C.; Detroit, Ann Arbor, Lansing, Jackson, Howell, and Ionia, Mich.; Toledo, Cleveland, and Cincinnati, Ohio; Indianapolis and La Porte, Ind.; Chicago, Peoria, and Moline, Ill.; Milwaukee, Wis.; Davenport, Des Moines, and State Centre, Iowa; St. Louis, Mo.; and St. Paul and Minneapolis, Minn. Besides these the schools of Toronto, Canada, a number of State normal schools, and a few country district schools were visited. It may not be inopportune to remark here that before undertaking the study of our own school system, I spent a large part of my time during a stay of nearly two years abroad devoted to the study of educational questions in visiting the schools of various European countries.

As to the criticisms which will be found in these articles, I beg that they be accepted in the spirit in which they are written, for it is far from my purpose to inflict injury upon any one. It is to be hoped, however, that the reader will bear in mind one thing which is too frequently forgotten, but which I never forgot, for the reason that it is the foundation upon which these articles rest, namely, that the school exists for the benefit of the child and not for the benefit of boards of education, superintendents, and teachers. In these articles the child's side will be presented, and the spirit in which they are written

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is the same as that in which an advocate pleads for his client. Once having taken this stand, I deem it my duty to present the child's case fairly and squarely, frankly and freely, and without fear or favor, just as it appears to me.

Before beginning the detailed description of *particular* schools, a brief *general* survey of the American school system will be in place:

The characteristic feature of our school system may perhaps be best defined by the single word "chaos," as it lies in the fact that each city, each county, and in some States each country district, has practically the privilege of conducting its schools in accordance with any whim upon which it may decide, being restricted only by certain State laws of secondary importance. Consequently, unless chaos be preferable to law and order, there is no foundation for the opinion held by so many that our public schools are the best in the world. That the schools of different localities should vary greatly in regard to their degree of excellence, owing to the peculiarity of the American system, is but natural.

But what is the educational standard by means of which the degree of excellence of a school may be measured? Upon this point opinions differ. Many believe that there is no science of education, that school is a place where children must be put through certain definitely fixed mechanical processes, that there can be no deviation from these, and that any attempt to vary them must emanate from a brain that verges on the border of insanity. And even to-day there may be found such persons as those of whom Rousseau speaks in his "*Emile*," and who are of the opinion that because it is essential for some persons in adult life to pass along roads not strewn with roses, it is right purposely to thrust burdens upon the young, purposely to rob childhood of its happiness, so that if troubles and sorrows come in later life, the child will have become accustomed to bear them. On the other hand, there are those who believe in the preservation of the happiness of childhood, and who think that the means with which to gladden the early years of life are at hand. They believe in the science of education. They recognize that certain definite natural laws of mental development have, during the courses of centuries, been discovered, that certain educational principles and methods have been founded upon these, and that such men as Comenius, Locke, Rousseau, Pestalozzi, Froebel, and Herbart have not lived in vain.

Owing to the fact that the matter has never been carefully investigated, it cannot be stated upon direct evidence that natural methods

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ultimately produce better and wiser men and women than the mechanical. But there is an abundance of evidence to prove that the life of the child is rendered happy by natural methods, while the mechanical render it burdensome and miserable. The reason for this is that natural instruction aims at giving the child his mental food in a digestible and palatable form, in the form in which he craves for it, while mechanical instruction is simply a stuffing process, its aim being to force a certain quantity of mental food upon the child in a given period of time, utterly regardless of his tastes or digestive powers.

It must, however, not be supposed that one can teach naturally, instead of mechanically, simply because he is ordered to do so, in the same manner that he can prepare to order a steak instead of a chop. For between mechanical and natural instruction lies the science of education, a road unlimited in extent and abounding in difficult passes, a considerable portion of which must be traversed before one learns to apply, in an intelligent manner, the principles of psychology to teaching, and to use the energies of the child to the best possible advantage. In regard to the methods in vogue in our own country, I found that while the schools of some cities have not risen perceptibly above the purely mechanical stage, those of others are striving toward naturalness, a few having already advanced considerably. Yet, owing to the fact that the science of teaching has not yet taken deep root in the United States, thorough philosophical teaching is but seldom found here.

Another thing remains to be considered before the discussion of class-room work can be profitably begun. As the character of the instruction which the child receives represents but the result of the general management of the schools—the resultant, as it were, of the action of a number of forces—to observe the teacher at her work without a knowledge of the whole school machinery would be observing with but half an eye. A brief sketch of the formation and action of the various elements which enter into the management of a school system will therefore be given at the outset. With this knowledge the reader will the more readily perceive that the description of ludicrous teaching found from time to time in my articles is not given for the purpose of ridiculing the teacher, but for the purpose of showing the results of unscientific—yes, at times pitiably poor—management. Besides, this sketch will be the means of showing clearly why the schools of different localities vary so much and where the roots of all educational evils must be sought.

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The elements which exert an influence upon the schools of each locality are four in number: the public at large, the board of education, the superintendent and his staff, and the teachers.

First. *The public at large.* As to the attitude of the public toward the schools, little need be said for the reason that in the large majority of instances it is entirely negative. I do not here refer to that form of interest which is found nearly everywhere in abundance, and which manifests itself among the citizens of most localities in a certain pride in their own particular schools, which they consider the best in the country, but which pride is founded neither upon a knowledge of what is going on in other schools, or even in their own schools, nor upon the slightest knowledge of the science of education; but I refer to an intelligent interest, an interest sufficiently deep to lead one to follow closely the actions of the board of education, superintendent, and teachers, and to seek some knowledge of the scientific development of children. If but one in a hundred would be interested to this extent, I believe that most of our flagrant educational evils would disappear. It is indeed incomprehensible that so many loving mothers whose greatest care appears to be the welfare of their children, will so thoughtlessly resign the fate of their little ones to the tender mercies of the ward politicians, who control the schools of a large number of cities, and many of whom have no scruples in placing the children into class-rooms the atmosphere of which is not fit for human beings to breathe, and in charge of teachers whose demeanor toward them is rather that of stern officers of the law than that of friend and guide.

Secondly. *The boards of education.* These boards are selected according to whims. Some are elected by the people, others are appointed, the appointing power lying in the hands of mayors, judges, or councilmen; or a board of education (as at Buffalo) may be simply a committee of the common council. In some cities the board of education is formed by two or three distinct bodies, each of which is so constituted that while it has enough independent power to create a considerable amount of mischief on its own account, it is sufficiently dependent upon the others to prove that the latter are at fault when anything goes amiss. As to the attitude of the board toward the schools, this varies greatly in different localities, the actions of some being governed, to a considerable extent, by selfish motives, whether political or otherwise, while those of others are, in the main, unselfish.

Thirdly. *The superintendent and his staff.* The office of superin-

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tendent is, in my opinion, one the importance of which cannot be over-estimated. Indeed, in the study of the educational conditions in any given locality, the superintendent may be regarded as the central figure, as a careful consideration of what he is, what he does, as well as the circumstances under which he labors, will scarcely fail to point out the reasons why the schools of that locality are upon a comparatively high or low level. When he is a thorough educator (that is, when he has made a profound study of the science of education), spares no pains in instructing his teachers in both the theory and practice of teaching, and is fully sustained in his actions by the board of education, the schools in his charge, if there be not too many, improve rapidly and ever continue to advance. But a modification of any one of these conditions impedes the progress of the schools. However thorough and enthusiastic a superintendent may be, if the board be not in sympathy with his movements he is hampered and cannot do his best. If he be ever so diligent a worker, but not sufficiently conversant with the science of education, the teaching will be liable to retain a mechanical stamp. Should he possess the necessary qualifications, but fail to devote a sufficient amount of time and energy to the instruction of his teachers, the schools will not be sufficiently benefited by his knowledge. And if he is the right man and does all in his power to raise the standard of his teachers, the extent to which his good influence will be felt will depend both upon the qualifications of the latter and the number of teachers in his charge.

But even when the superintendent labors under very unfavorable circumstances he seldom fails to stamp the schools with his individual pedagogical ideas, thus giving the education in his schools at least a tendency in a certain direction, provided he remains long enough—say four or five years—in any one city. Superintendents do not, however, as a rule remain long in any one place. They frequently, for political or other reasons, fail to be reappointed, or they accept other positions by reason of higher salaries. Superintendents of small cities not uncommonly go from one locality to another for a consideration of one or two hundred dollars per annum. By reason of these changes the schools of many cities are always in a transitional stage, never reaching any distinctive character.

One of the above points—that relating to the number of teachers in any given locality—requires special consideration. As the number of teachers which a single individual can supervise is limited, in the larger cities the superintendent is furnished with one or more assist-

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ants, whose duties are, to a great extent, similar to those of the superior officer. Without entering into the details of the matter here, the general statement may be made that in large cities the duty of raising the standard of the teachers devolves mainly upon the assistant-superintendents. Consequently an assistant-superintendent, as well as a superintendent, should be a thorough educator, a fact which is unfortunately but too frequently forgotten.

Lastly. *The teachers.* This is, after all, the greatest problem. If all teachers were perfect, how little need there would be for troubling with political corruption and superintendents. But, as has already been intimated, this is far from the case. Indeed, the professional weakness of the American teacher is the greatest sore spot of the American schools. We find earnestness, conscientiousness, and enthusiasm in abundance, but these characteristics, favorable as they are, no more constitute expert pedagogical qualifications than they do expert medical or legal qualifications. The truth is that, as a rule, our teachers are too weak to stand alone, and consequently need constantly to be propped up by the supervisory staff. It is for this reason that the quality of the schools of any given locality depends to so great an extent upon the ability of a single, or at most a few, individuals. The weakness of the American teachers can be well observed in those cities where only the best obtainable are employed.

The graduate of a good city training-school represents, generally speaking, the best which this country produces in the way of teachers. When the training received at one of these institutions is compared with that received at a normal school of Germany, the limited extent of the former becomes apparent. The State normal schools are conducted upon broader bases, it is true, but then their requirements for admission are in most instances much lower. But the true professional incompetency of our teachers, taken all in all, does not become fully apparent until we consider that not more than a small percentage of persons engaged in teaching in the public schools of this country are normal-school graduates. Of those teaching (besides the normal-school graduates) some are high-school graduates, others have simply attended a normal school, high-school, or academy for one or more terms, while a very large number of licenses to teach are granted to those whose education does not extend beyond that received at a grammar school, with or without a little extra coaching.

Then, again, each city is, to a great extent, free to make its own regulations regarding the qualifications required for granting teachers'

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licenses, and entirely free to place the power of appointing its teachers in the hands of any individual or individuals whom it may select for the purpose. And once a teacher is appointed, her position is, in many cities, secure. The office of teacher in the average American school is perhaps the only one in the world which can be retained indefinitely in spite of the grossest negligence and incompetency. And it is in the appointment and discharge of superintendents and teachers that politics plays the greatest mischief in the American schools.

It is not my purpose to decry the good done by our training-schools. It is nevertheless true that the professional knowledge received at these institutions does little more than open the book to the student, and that unless the studies be continued after graduation the value of the scientific pedagogical training soon becomes lost, and the trained teacher soon falls to the level of the one who has had no training. And it is upon the superintendent that the duty of continuing this training will devolve until we enact laws to the effect that no teacher shall be employed in a public school of this country who has not had a thorough professional training.

We may now enter upon the discussion of class-room work. In this discussion I shall begin with the schools of those cities where, in my opinion, the nature of the instruction is least scientific, and gradually ascend the scale, describing, as far as possible, in groups, those schools which most resemble each other. But for the reason that so much space has been devoted to the introductory remarks, I shall consider in the remainder of this article the schools of only one city. I have selected for the opening the schools of Baltimore, because they were the first of a group of schools of a certain order that came under my observation. My first illustration will be that of an arithmetic lesson which I witnessed in an "advanced first grade" (actually the second school year) in one of Baltimore's schools. This lesson will indicate, to a great extent, in what a soul-inspiring manner from one-fourth to one-third of the time is spent in the average primary school of that city during the first two years of school life.

On entering this class-room a large blackboard entirely covered with problems in addition, in endless variety, struck my eye. First there were such columns as—

$1+1=$	$1+2=$
$2+1=$	$2+2=$
$3+1=$	$3+2=$

running down to $10+1=$ and $10+2=$, respectively.

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Then there were columns with mixed figures, four lines deep, five lines deep, and ten lines deep; next, examples in horizontal lines, such as $3+6+8+4=$, and columns where each succeeding figure was 5 greater than the one before: thus, 1, 6, 11, 16; 2, 7, 12, 17; and so on.

"We are just adding," the teacher said to me. "I am very particular with their adding. I devote from one and a half to one and three-quarter hours a day to this subject, and I will tell you," she continued, growing quite enthusiastic, "my pupils can add."

Then she faced the class and said, "Start that column over again."

A little boy (apparently the leader of the orchestra) then began to tap on the blackboard with a stick, beating time upon the figures, while the class sang in perfect rhythm: "1 and 1 are 2; 2 and 1 are 3; 3 and 1 are 4," and so on, until the column was completed; next they began with 2 and 1, 2 and 2, etc. (When later they came to 5 and 8 are 13, 5 and 9 are 14, the rhythm was retained, but the effect was changed.) Next came a column of 2s, the children adding "2 and 2 are 4; 4 and 2 are 6," and so on.

The teacher here said to me, "Now I shall let them add that column mentally." Upon receiving such an order, the children cried out, "2, 4, 6, 8, 10."

I discovered, therefore, that this teacher's idea of the difference between written and mental arithmetic consisted in nothing further than that in mental arithmetic the "and (2) are" is left out. Thus 2, 4, 6, 8, 10 is mental arithmetic, while 2 and 2 are 4, 4 and 2 are 6 is the other kind.

When the children had reached the bottom of the last column in sight I thought that they had finished. But here I was mistaken. The board had two faces and turned on pivots. In an instant it was swung around, and then I discovered that the other side of the board was likewise completely covered with columns in addition.

When this exercise was finished the children had some reading. The reading was fully as mechanical as the arithmetic. It amounted simply to calling off words. Not only was there no expression, but there was not even an inflection, or a pause at a comma or a period. Nor did the teacher ever correct mispronounced words or make any attempt at teaching them how to read. Before the children began reading the lesson there was a ludicrously mechanical introduction, including the calling off of the words placed at the top of the page, thus:

"Page 56, Lesson XVIII., The Dog and the Rat. Dog, Rat, Catch, Room, Run, Smell, Wag, Jump." And then came the story.

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Besides reading and arithmetic, there is in this grade oral spelling, a subject which is by no means neglected. This exercise is carried on both individually and in concert. The children also have instruction in penmanship. The remainder of the time is occupied as follows: Drawing twenty minutes twice a week, an object-lesson of thirty minutes once a week, and music fifteen minutes daily.

Now, as to the modifications of the above methods in the various schools, I found but few. In arithmetic this was mainly confined to the skill with which the children at the board wielded the baton while pointing to the figures and beating time. In some cases this procedure was extremely complicated and still more ludicrous. Reading-lessons, such as the one described above, I found in abundance, and the results were, as might be expected, miserable. In one class I found that the children did use inflections while reading. They religiously raised their voices two tones at commas and dropped them four tones at periods.

I asked one of the primary principals whether she believed in the professional training of teachers.

"I do *not*," she answered emphatically. "I speak from experience. A graduate of the Maryland Normal School once taught under me, and she wasn't as good a teacher as those who came from the High School."

One of the primary teachers said to me: "I formerly taught in the higher grades, but I had an attack of nervous prostration some time ago, and the doctor recommended rest. So I now teach in the primary, because teaching primary children does not tax the mind."

I had occasion to attend a number of geography lessons. Such a thing as teaching geography from pictures, from the molding-board and the like, is, as far as I was able to discover, unknown in Baltimore. It is all text-book work, and the words in the book are studied *verbatim*. In the upper primary grade, where geography is begun, the children learn how to rattle off definitions quite marvellously. I heard in one class the recitation of geographical definitions and of the boundaries of States in concert. In the grammar schools text-books are used in studying geography. The teacher opened her text-book to the page which contained the subject of the day's lesson and asked —or rather read aloud—the questions which were printed upon the page; and in reply the children endeavored to recite, word for word, the text-book answers to these questions. I met one principal who was quite enthusiastic, but as she was hampered in her work by lack

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of professional training, the teaching throughout her school did not differ much from that of other schools. She informed me, while speaking of natural-science work, that physics was studied quite thoroughly in the schools of Baltimore.

"Do the children experiment for themselves," I asked, "or do the teachers perform the experiments?"

"Oh, we have no experiments," she said. "We learn our physics from books. The city supplies us with no apparatus. We are at liberty to experiment if we desire. A friend of mine, a principal, informed me that she tried an experiment once, but it was a failure, and she vowed that she would never dream of making another one."

In one class, where they were having some physiology, in answer to the question, "What is the effect of alcohol on the system?" I heard a ten-year-old cry out at the top of his voice and at the rate of a hundred miles an hour, "It—dwarfs—the—body,—mind,—and—soul,—weakens—the—heart,—and—enfeebles—the—memory."

"And what are the effects of tobacco?" asked the teacher.

In answer to this, one boy called off, in rapid succession, a longer list of diseases than most physicians are acquainted with.

"What brings on these diseases, excessive or moderate smoking?"

"Moderate smoking," was the prompt reply.

Now, what do these illustrations mean? Simply that I did not succeed in discovering any evidence that the science of education had as yet found its way into the public schools of Baltimore. Is the pedagogical law requiring that the time and energies of the child be used to the best possible advantage taken into account when an hour and a half are devoted daily for two years to addition, and perhaps to a little subtraction; or when in teaching children to read two years or more are required to attain results which (as the schools of a number of cities prove) might be attained in six months or less? Or is the law that the study of things must precede the study of words regarded when objective work is almost entirely neglected and the sciences of physics and physiology are learned practically from books alone? What is there of a scientific nature in the teaching of geography—that study which can be made the means of opening channels of interest in so many directions—when the instruction dwindles down to little, if any, more than hearing the children recite the words which they have learned *verbatim* from a text-book? Is the fundamental law of pedagogy not absolutely ignored when all interest is crushed out of the process of learning, and what can be less interesting to little children than the computation of

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abstract numbers by the hour, or the calling off of words in a meaningless way from a reading-book? Or is there anything less interesting and more burdensome than learning text-books by heart, and especially when the words convey little meaning to the learner? And, finally, what is there in the teaching above described which could not be undertaken by any one who is able to read, write, and cipher?

Now, the causes of this deplorable condition of affairs in Baltimore are not difficult to discover.

First. *The citizens* of Baltimore glory in the fact that their schools are among the best in the country; or, as the more modest claim, second to none but those of Boston. And if things are perfect or nearly so, why interfere?

Secondly. *The Board of Education* of Baltimore is a purely political organization, its members being elected, one for each ward, by the members of the Common Council. But while each member of the School Board is officially elected by a majority vote of the Common Council, he is—so far as I have been able to learn—practically appointed by the member of the Common Council from his own ward, that is, he is nominated by him and the nomination rarely fails to receive the official confirmation. The Board of Education of the city of Baltimore is, therefore, a product of the ward politicians.

Thirdly. *The supervision is by far too meagre.* While the city has some twelve hundred public-school teachers, the supervisory staff consists of only two members. That of Boston consists of seven members, although the number of teachers in that city does not exceed thirteen hundred. Besides, the schools of Baltimore have not even supervising principals, each principal having charge of a class of his own which he teaches during the entire school period.

Fourthly. *The schools of Baltimore are almost entirely in the hands of untrained teachers.* Of those now in the system some are high-school graduates, others have had no high-school education, and but comparatively few have ever received any professional training whatever. Further, political influence appears to play a much greater part in their appointment than merit. Although they are officially appointed by a majority vote of the Board of Education, the power to appoint teachers lies practically in the hands of local committees, consisting of two members, who have special charge of the schools of the two wards which they represent. These members nominate the teachers for the schools in their own wards, and the Board of Education confirms their nomination. Now, as each member of the School Board depends for

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his appointment upon the councilman from his ward, it may readily be perceived to what extent the appointment of Baltimore's teachers lies in the hands of its ward politicians. The teacher is at first appointed on probation, the probational period being ninety days. Should her services during this time prove satisfactory she receives a permanent license, which entitles her to teach for ten years. But, unfortunately, the supervisory staff is so small that each school can be visited but seldom by its members, and the ninety days' probation may elapse before either one of them gets a single chance to see the teacher at work in her class-room. This does not, however, deprive her of the right of receiving her permanent license as soon as the probational period has expired. The discharge of teachers for negligence or incompetency is an almost unheard-of affair. There is one teacher who remains at home every time it rains, and yet she is not removed.

In consideration of these conditions—the schools practically in the hands of ward politicians, the teachers untrained, and the supervision far too scanty—is it surprising that the schools of Baltimore should be as they are?

As for the remedies? These are simple enough after the causes of the evils are discovered. They consist in taking the schools out of the domain of politics, in employing only professionally trained teachers, and in enlarging the supervisory staff.

But, alas! things are more easily said than done. Patronage is not frequently voluntarily resigned, and unless there is some one to take it away by force, it is liable to be retained indefinitely. But who is to wage war for the children, unless it be their natural protectors—the parents? And can that body of people, so utterly indifferent to the affairs of the schools, be relied upon to do anything toward their improvement?

It is true that it is not easy to change matters when acts of legislature are involved. Therefore to emancipate schools from politics is not a simple affair. Yet there is a way in which the schools of Baltimore might be markedly improved without drawing in the legislature. It lies in increasing the size of the supervisory staff to such an extent that the teachers may receive proper aid from its members. As such aid is needed even under the most favorable circumstances, it is doubly essential when the general conditions are unfavorable. In fact, in my opinion, strong supervision is the best counteracting influence to the evils arising from poor general management, and particularly from those due to carelessness in the selection of teachers.

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Efficient supervision requires that each teacher stand in as close relationship to the superintendent or one of his assistants as a book-keeper or cashier does to his proprietor; that the superintendent meet his assistants frequently for consultation, and that the members of the supervisory staff see the teachers individually in their class-rooms at frequent intervals, in order to give them practical hints on teaching, and in bodies, to instruct them in their grade work, in the principles of education, and in the theory of teaching. (Professor Just, Superintendent of Schools at Altenburg, in Saxony, who is one of Germany's leading educators, once said to me that in his opinion, in order that a superintendent might do good work, the number of teachers in his charge should not exceed sixty. In Baltimore this number is six hundred.)

Under a management of this nature—allowing even, say, one hundred and fifty teachers to a supervisor—the schools of Baltimore would undoubtedly, within a very few years, present an entirely different aspect. Until a material change is effected, those attending the schools of that city will be doomed to a miserable childhood.

J. M. Rice.

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VENAL VOTING: METHODS AND REMEDIES.[1]

In a previous paper the proportion of venal voters according to race, habits, and police record was given in tabular form for two Connecticut towns and one city ward. And upon these, together with less specific, but quite reliable, reports from a number of other towns and from one of the larger cities an estimate was made for the entire State. It was also shown that venality followed the laws of infectious disease in the phenomena of its distribution.

We now inquire: Of what sort are the venal? We have seen what their habits are. What is their method of life? In one town their occupations were as follows: boatmen, six; mechanics, nine; mechanics and farmers, three; mill hands, six; owners of farms worth three thousand dollars or more, six; owners of good farms, not mortgaged, worth one thousand to fifteen hundred dollars, four; owners of poor farms, sometimes mortgaged, worth four hundred to seven hundred and fifty dollars, eleven; pensioner, one; teamster, one; renters of poor farms, ten. The remainder and by far the largest class are farm laborers, unskilled laborers, wood-choppers and doers of odd jobs, and there is one man who is retired on what for the locality is a comfortable little property. A few have large families. All can read and write, though the majority may be somewhat below the general standard of popular education in the place. I can give no such accurate census of the city purchasables. But in many instances, as I am credibly informed, men who earn good wages or salaries expect pay regularly from their own side, and "hold off" until they get it; and one case has been given where the man had property worth seventy-five thousand dollars. But as may be easily divined from the facts as to drinking-habits already given, the great majority are more or less of the out-at-the-elbow and down-at-the-heel class. A few are marked "thrifty" with emphasis. "What that man gets goes right into the savings bank every time, you may be sure!" was related of one. But to the greater part, probably more than three-quarters, the election

[1] This article is supplementary to the article on "The Alarming Proportion of Venal Voters" which Professor McCook contributed to the September FORUM.

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earnings mean only a payment on account at the favorite doggery, an immediate and immoderate indulgence in the pet tipple; and for no mean proportion, a brawl and a speedy renewal of acquaintance with the station-house turnkey.

I could hardly be forgiven if, having the means, I were not to gratify curiosity as to the political complexion of the purchasable element. Here it is for two country towns and one city voting district. It may be relied upon:

PERCENTAGES OF PARTY VOTE.

	Precinct I. Country.	Precinct II. Country.	Precinct III. City.	Three Precincts.
Democrat	15.7	19.7	10.5	13.0
Prohibition	0.0	0.0	7.1	5.0
Republican	1.6	21.9	7.3	8.9
Other party	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Doubtful and unknown	19.4	40.0	19.4	20.9
Totals	9.8	20.9	9.3	11.3

This seems to show that if Prohibitionists be, as is commonly claimed, in natural sympathy with the Republicans, the two great political camps will be found to be not far from evenly infected—which is what I have heretofore surmised. Otherwise there are about fifty per cent more venal Democrats than Republicans. The largest percentage of disease appears among those of doubtful and unknown political preference. If these two terms were synonymous with Independent, the fact would be of ominous significance.

But it is perhaps more prudent to leave comment upon this set of figures to professional statesmen. The general public may rest assured that the raiding in one another's territory is not confined to any one side, but is limited on either side only by the ordinary conditions of active campaigning—combativeness, energy, skill, money, exigency, and opportunity. And as matters now stand it is perhaps not wholly unfortunate that such is the case; for in each of the two rural towns and in the two city wards tabulated in detail, the actual venal vote is considerably in excess of any party majority, and with no disturbing element it readily carries the election. The same is true of the entire city. As for the State, it frequently shows no majority on the popular vote, and even its pluralities are small. But for the nearly equal energy and financial strength of the two parties, therefore, there is no reason why towns, cities, and the State

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should not be completely at the mercy of the unhappy beings who offer their political virtue in open market to the highest bidder.

How is the bribery accomplished? Where the ballot is open the process is simple enough. The person is handed a ticket, accompanied to the polls, watched with hawk-like sharpness until the ballot is in the box; he then goes to the cashier and draws his pay, takes a fistful of tickets and poses as a ticket-peddler for half an hour or so —then quietly drops off and disappears. This is very common in cities. In the country, and not infrequently in cities, the ticket-peddling is omitted as being a useless and too public farce; otherwise the method is the same. While treating of the disease aspect of the offence I have said that the seller usually seeks the purchaser. This is not always the case. There are in both country and city certain men, who have been dubbed in my hearing "a sort of gang-contractors." These in one town were three in number. Two of them, of the informant's own party, were ready to work for either side, the third only for his own. These persons receive from twenty-five to fifty dollars in elections "when there is any money up," arm themselves with jugs of whiskey, and start for the habitat of the commercial coterie which they specially affect. What cannot be done through the inspiration of the jug is done by the persuasiveness of money; and what can be economized in money stays in the contractor's pocket.

The contractor in the city is likely to be a liquor dealer. If he can get himself chosen to the chairmanship of a ward committee, so much the greater his chance of perquisites. He may, indeed, have been helped to this position by money of his own or of the opposite party. In this case he draws double pay. His own party intrusts funds to him to use, and the other party goes far beyond in their bid. He is not simple enough to return his party's money, and to use it would be idiocy; for his pay from the other side is to be proportioned to the reduction he can effect in the vote of his own people. He therefore pockets both the campaign fund and the bribe, and accounts for the falling off in his party vote by the "big pile of money the others were using." This is not invariably done, nor perhaps frequently; but it is sometimes done, I am assured by those who ought to know. Sometimes, however, certainly not. I have even heard of one instance in which a liquor dealer returned nearly half of the money intrusted to him as not having been spent. My "practical" friends will most of them smile incredulously at this, but it is true.

This suggests the inquiry, How is liquor used on election occa-

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sions? Its most impressive use, perhaps, is when the candidate goes down into the ward and talks pleasantly with "the boys" and "asks them all in for a drink." But this is hardly its most efficient employment. The "boys" would be very unusually unintelligent indeed and not at all usually thirsty if they were to refuse liquid refreshments thus tendered, from whatever source. But the most telling work is put in by the dealer himself. He receives a liberal donation to be employed for refreshment purposes. This he deals out in the most judicious manner, discriminating of course in favor of those who are "going in with the rest of the boys to elect A. or B." In many instances the patron is in debt for previous libations. His credit is now stopped until he "falls into line." "You may clear out! We don't want nothing to do with you if you're not going to be friendly!" The power of such an edict to a man devoured by a thirst which probably surpasses that of the fever patient, or of the wounded soldier under a July sun on the battle-field, can be appreciated only by those who have studied this curious disease face to face with its victims. As a check upon fraud and for the increase of personal influence, bunches of drink-tickets are sometimes prepared—to be issued only on the day of election. I have heard of several instances of this kind. In one the orders were forged to a serious extent. But the bill was meekly paid. Such accounts are not likely to be disputed. The tickets are given out with but little show of concealment at the very polling-place, and are honored instantly. To this end the drinking-place must of course be open, though that is contrary to law.

What sets the bribery machinery in motion? The initiative of the candidate and of local managers, in local elections. In general elections, word from the State Central Committee, with or without previous consultation with the local managers, but always followed by such consultation, that such a town "must be got." The towns chosen will naturally be those where there is the best fighting chance; that is, where the majority of the other, or the minority of one's own, side is smallest. Who the most available local candidate is to be, how much he will give, how much must be thrown in from the outside, and all such obvious details are then arranged with more or less care. Sometimes, when for any reason the financial integrity of a smart local manager is suspected—and men in this business, I am assured, cannot be relied upon to keep straight for more than two or three years—he is permitted to "make the contracts" and all that sort of thing, receiving a lump sum for personal compensation; but the money passes

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through the hands of another. In order to divide responsibility in the forum of conscience and of the State, one man will sometimes "contract," direct a second to see that the person votes straight, and on his certificate a third pays.

The mention of contracts recalls a previous statement of mine which was perhaps as much doubted as any other. This was that men had sometimes contracted for a term of years to deliver their votes as desired. I have since conversed with a professional man of high standing, who informs me that he has handled and accepted such a list where the term was three years. "If we had not taken them the other side would," was his naïve and sufficient explanation. In this whole process each party to the transaction tricks the other. That happens in all trade. Why not in this? Stories in illustration constitute a veritable embarrassment of riches, and they are from both sides. But they might not prove to be altogether edifying reading and the space will be saved for other uses.

"But the secret ballot has done away with all this!" Not at all, in Connecticut at least. The first year it seriously interfered with it. But ways of evading it have already been discovered. Ballots have begun to be successfully marked. The famous printer's specks are not the only marks possible. A paster applied to a certain name in a certain way, or an agreed-upon fictitious name written in, may be an effectual mark. A manager may sacrifice his own vote in the morning, carry away the stamped official envelope, inclose a vote in it, securely seal it, place it in the hands of a "worker" and condition payment upon the delivery of a new and unbroken envelope; and this may be kept going all the day. The booth-tender or some one else may be hired to open the door "by accident" to see whether a ticket in the vest pocket is substituted for the ticket in hand on entering. It may be made a condition precedent that the door be left slightly ajar so that the booth-tender, previously signalled, may see whether the ticket carried in is put into the envelope. I mention only methods which I am credibly informed have already been used. Therefore I run the risk of "corrupting" no one, but may warn many. Even the Australian system may be evaded by the use of a stencil of the exact spacing of the ballot. And for every such system there remains the easy, though twice as expensive plan of paying men to stay away, which has probably been used in a certain, though not great degree, but which is sure to be used when all else fails.

And how much does it all cost, and where does the money come

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from? I can speak only of Connecticut with any particularity, though I have items from three other States. A veteran tells me that in his opinion a presidential campaign here costs each party four hundred thousand dollars, all told, of which his party gets about one-tenth from the National Committee, and he supposes the other side gets at least as much from theirs. There is a multitude of expenses constantly rising—headquarters, music, fireworks, uniforms, speakers, "literature," getting men naturalized, etc. For all these vouchers can be given. And then there is the item, which for years has been still more rapidly rising, the appropriation for election day, for which no vouchers are given or expected. This is the fateful item. I know of one country town in which over six hundred dollars, probably not far from eight hundred, was used in this way—a considerable part of it coming from the outside. The total expenses there of one party were probably not quite double that sum. In another, twelve hundred dollars is mentioned as the aggregate outlay of one party. In each case the testimony is concerning the informant's own party. In a third instance the opposite party was said to have had thirteen hundred dollars to dispose of, and so "we couldn't get anywhere near them." How near they actually got, or whether they simply gave it up—which often happens in the presence of overwhelming financial opposition—was not stated. But the party vote dropped in one precinct ninety per cent! Another gentleman tells me that it cost him on one occasion just eleven dollars to get into the legislature; on another seventeen dollars. He is now informed, and he has ample opportunity to know, that the same seat costs the candidate eight hundred dollars. And he mentioned a second town, where the cost is from eight hundred dollars to one thousand dollars. One municipal election is said to have cost the successful candidate six thousand dollars in direct expenditure, and much more is thought to have been expended in the manner previously described upon the managers of the hostile party.

Ward expenses are not commonly so heavy as those of the country towns, owing to the greater importance of the towns than of any single fraction of a city, which, however large, counts only as part of a town in much of the voting. When it is remembered how slight the legitimate expenses of an election are, it will be seen how much must be spent on direct action upon voters. One hears a good deal of talk about the cost of ticket-peddlers, printing, carriage-hire and the like, from those who count upon your ignorance or who are juggling with

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their own consciences. The cost of printing four hundred and ninety-two thousand four hundred tickets, certainly an ample supply for one party, in a recent State election was only three hundred and ninety-four dollars, with five per cent off. Six ticket-peddlers are all that can be really used and as many as any manager would employ if it were a mere matter of business. So one of them frankly admitted. When, therefore, I asked him how many he actually hired, and he replied, "Perhaps fifty, and the others as many more," both he and I saw a sudden light. As for hack-hire: there are about eighty-three hacks in the city of Hartford. If they were all hired at the all-day price, they would cost less than seven hundred dollars, or eighty-eight dollars per ward. But in the very greatest election only about one-fifth of them are used all day, and one-half of them for the afternoon, at an aggregate cost of not more than five hundred and thirty-six dollars, or sixty-seven dollars per ward—thirty-four dollars each side. So the actual legitimate expense in a city ward is from twenty-five dollars to fifty dollars a side. In a country town more and further hauling may have to be done, and refreshments are more required for the real workers and for voters from a distance. But one hundred and twenty-five dollars a side would be a generous estimate for everything. How much of the vastly greater sum often used goes for bribery can be approximately estimated from these figures. The cost on this score has indeed been growing so serious that in more than one town the local managers have agreed to divide the legislative delegation and to elect one member each without opposition. But on other issues there is the old liability.

Where does this money come from? In general elections, where interest is universal and excitement tense, a paper is circulated among all solid citizens known to be earnest partisans. In general, however, the money comes from the candidates. These are assessed on a scale graduated according to office or salary. Thus: councilman, twenty-five dollars; alderman, fifty dollars; first selectman, two hundred dollars; mayor, whatever can be got. Ten per cent of the annual value of the office would not be far wrong. Even offices which bring no salary, but only expense, are assessed. I know of one instance in which a presidential elector was assessed five hundred dollars, and the bill repeatedly presented, though payment in this case was refused. The civil-service-reform rules have doubtless done something toward diminishing these levies. But they can reach only a fraction of the offices. States and localities are still untrammelled. New York has a

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law limiting candidates in their expenses and requiring them to divulge these items under oath, and an act to the same effect has been considerably discussed in other States, showing a movement in this direction. But it must be said that practical politicians are skeptical as to the effectiveness of the law. They do not question that it has already been evaded and that it will be. Applicants may ask for contributions to churches, or schools, or hospitals in their neighborhood, and apply the checks to political purposes—this was the suggestion of one veteran; or they may contrive to make their statement before the heaviest bills have come in, was the suggestion of another; or they may have rich sisters, or relatives, or friends who will put up the money without their direct knowledge, was still another suggestion. New York politicians may take that law seriously. I think it only raises an incredulous smile in Connecticut. It is possible that a law of the kind might be so framed as to prove effectual, though I doubt it. And I have similar doubts concerning the possibility of enforcing the well-meaning laws lately introduced in two or three of our States requiring committees to publish their campaign accounts.

The committees, then, are the money-raisers. First the national; next the State; next the town; next the ward or district. The candidates, speaking broadly, are the victims. Beside the orderly levies, they are liable to be plundered, more especially when green, by every local pot-house and "bum." And what between the pecuniary drain and the annoyance, it is, or is said to be, becoming more and more difficult to get men of mere fitness to stand. On account of the first, poor men cannot; and on account of the second, most rich men will not. There are compensations in this latter. If wealth were not for the most part repelled from personal engagement in these conflicts, I see no limit to the corruption which might exist. When a rich man goes into politics on his own account, he is very apt to leave a wide swath of corruption along his track. And it generally comes to stay.

How do the briber and the bribed look upon their *rôles* respectively? I have already remarked, concerning the latter, that they are largely persons in whom self-respect has been deadened or extinguished by habitual intemperance. Their course is explicable enough. For the rest of the class, there is but one thing that explains it—greed of gain. They have often not a particle of interest in politics. Somebody else has and is willing to pay for their help. But the oath—why does not the oath restrain them? Partly because most of them have

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taken none. Out of thirty-six States the attorney-generals[1] of which have been good enough to answer my questions, only the following require an oath on registration: Alabama, Idaho, Louisiana that the individual is qualified under the constitution; Maryland, to answer truly the questions of the registration officer; Minnesota, that he has resided in the State the required time; Montana, as to name and residence and that he has not voted before; Virginia, that he is not disqualified under the State constitution; Wyoming, as to residence and qualifications; California does not specify. Only Connecticut, Mississippi, and North Carolina seem to have any moral element in their oath, and this goes but little beyond the vague promise of allegiance to the constitution of the State and to the United States. Connecticut adds an excellent clause as to voting, always "touching any matter that concerns this State or the United States—as you shall judge will conduce to the best good of the same without respect of persons or favor of any man." But though I myself have taken that oath three times, I may say that I came away every time with this thought uppermost in my mind: "that was a pretty stiff dose of State rights," and little else. Partly the oath does not bind because oaths in general are administered without much decorum and taken without much seriousness. I own a number of farms in a Western State. In one instance two reputable men swore to fifteen hundred dollars' worth of house and fence, when subsequent inquiry showed there had never been a sign of either; and in seventeen or eighteen other cases it was in like manner bravely sworn that the value was from three to five times the loan, when inquiry established the fact that it could never have been, or have been thought to be, more than the loan, and was actually in few, if any, cases equal to it. In many such ways it becomes plain that where gain is concerned judgment and conscience are easily warped. So let us not too severely condemn this aggregation of drunkards, jail-birds, poor men with large families, and thrifty fellows "on the make" for doing much the kind of thing that is known to be done all around them under the dignified name of business.

Of the go-betweens, nothing need be said. They will be comprehended. Of their employers it may, and it must, if the truth is told,

[1] The principal facts bearing upon this question of qualification of voters, disfranchisement, etc., for their respective States, were kindly supplied for this article by the attorney-generals of thirty-three of the States, by the Secretary of State of one, and by the recorder of the Supreme Court of another. The blank for Connecticut was filled by myself. The States not included are Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Missouri, Nevada, Rhode Island, Vermont, Wisconsin.

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be said that they are in general excellent people, of fully average morality and piety, who are carried off their feet by excitement or by the quiet determination to win. We call it a campaign and they act up to the name. Moreover, we virtually require them to win, and should not pardon them if they were to neglect measures adapted to winning. They, however, keep themselves frequently aloof from the "dirty work." They give their money or their directions, virtually saying, "Do it, but tell me not when it is done, or how."

Two stories will illustrate this; the first was related to me by an actor in it; the second is not direct, but is probably true. It was Sunday and the eve of an election. Word came to the management that a certain gang could be had for five hundred dollars. The candidate was rich and he was at prayer-meeting. He was called out and the situation explained. He looked uncomfortable, faltered, finally replied: "Well, gentlemen, I don't know much about such things; but if you say it's all right, I suppose it is." So he gave his check—and was elected. Again: A well-known and most exemplary man was governor. A local magnate visited him with the usual story. He coldly replied, "I am sorry, sir, but I never have anything to do with such methods of procedure." The visitor grew red, arose, and was leaving in a high state of surprise and indignation, for he had understood that his visit would be appreciated. But just as his hand was on the door-knob he heard a placid voice remark, "Perhaps you'd better call on Col. ——, a member of my staff, before you go." He called and was satisfied. Meanwhile the governor turned to his secretary and remarked, with a gentle smile, "You know one must exercise Christian guile sometimes." This was a war governor, and no doubt anybody would have said that the outcome of the political might have been expected to have a real influence upon the success of the military campaign. And the military leader notoriously employs money and deception and corruption of every kind as freely as powder and ball. I am not excusing, I am only explaining the incident.

Bribery is often resorted to in defence of party or individual or in punishment of a supposed affront. Thus from two independent sources comes the story of the revenge a politician, now long dead, sought to take upon a newspaper man, then a candidate for office. Both informants were of the politician's own party. This man took five thousand dollars in bills out of the bank and flung it into the campaign, having ascertained on careful inquiry that that amount would certainly beat his enemy. "Dirty dog!" he exclaimed; "he accused

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me in his paper of corrupt practices and refused to acknowledge his error!" And one of the commonest explanations, I find, of admitted connection with the business is, "We have to do it, you know, to defend ourselves." Whether for defence or offence, it is resorted to, I am bound to say, in many instances from the profound conviction that the good of the country requires it. The bribers are earnest men often, and often patriotic. And in some instances I know they have not gone into politics from improper motives.

Still, whatever our respect for their possible sincerity or sympathy with the contemptuous estimate which they set upon their tools, and whatever our pity for the latter, we are bound to condemn the practices of both parties to the transaction and to ask whether there may not be some remedy. The disease is bad enough in itself, but it shows signs of not stopping within its former bounds. The secret ballot in this State has perhaps done some good. But the very legislature which gave us that law was doubtless the most corrupt legislature the State ever had. What wonder that men who had graduated from such a school in home politics should show their proficiency on the larger field! I have it from most competent sources that not far from one-half of the members of that body received compensation direct or indirect for their vote on the occasion of the "great railroad war," as it has been called. The stories told are all but unbelievable but for the detail of the evidence and the authority of the witnesses. One man actually carried back the money given by one side on accepting a higher bid from the other. In the lobby of the House the managers of both sides were circulating money all but literally in hand. "We will give as much as anybody," says one. "But I've been offered fifteen hundred dollars by the others," objects a member. "We'll give you fifteen hundred dollars, too," is the reply. "Well, wait a moment till I speak to ——," of the other side. A few moments' parley in the open vestibule, then back, and, with a "There's no use in you people trying; —— tells me he'll give me eighteen hundred dollars," the incident closes. One member of the Senate, then and since notoriously venal, was "working like a dog to get the bill through the House, and fairly cried his eyes out because it was defeated there and he failed to get a bite out of it." Another had prepared a grand *coup* for the side that thought he was with them by accepting in private a promise of several thousand dollars from the other for his vote at the last. And the money was actually drawn from the bank and was on the spot ready for use. Imagine his feel-

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ings when with the adverse vote of the House his hold upon the big bribe fell off!

Nor is Connecticut the only sufferer. There are, it is true, causes operative here which may be less powerfully felt elsewhere. One of these is the unusual closeness of the State. The other is the apparent extravagance and carelessness of many of its town republics in almsgiving. In one of the most venal towns the venality was formerly far worse than it is now. And I find the improvement came simultaneously with root-and-branch reformation of the alms system, whether in consequence of it I cannot say; my informant thought not. Another town still worse in venality has been and continues to be very reckless in such expenditures. In a third town there were thirty-five persons who had been convicted before the police court three or more times in 1890, once at least for drunkenness, or else had been adjudged common drunkards and punished accordingly. All but three of these were paupers; and I now find that with but one single exception all of them who have votes are also venal. In another list of seventy-two persons convicted at least twice during the same year, out of fifty-nine males there were thirty-eight who were recognized by my informant; and of these thirty were known to be venal and just one was pronounced "straight." These facts may, it is true, not prove the mutual dependence of crime, pauperism, and venality; but they at least show that the relations of good neighborhood heretofore shown to exist between venality and crime are not disturbed when pauperism is superadded. But Connecticut is not the only close State, nor does she enjoy the monopoly of crime, pauperism, and reckless almsgiving. Similar causes operate in other States. This has been demonstrated for Rhode Island by Mr. Howland,[1] of the "Providence Journal." An old friend, recently candidate for Congress in New Jersey, sends me evidence of it from that State;[2] and a most interesting letter from a New York gentleman,[3] formerly but not now an office-holder, and who

[1] He has kindly sent me a letter confirmatory of the well-known statements made in his paper.

[2] A precinct usually carried by the other party by a majority of one hundred was formally offered him for fifty dollars.

[3] The chief points in his statement are as follows: In New York City there is but little direct buying of votes and not much indirect, the Democrats being too sure of success on the general ticket. The indirect method pays men five dollars a day for "working." The details of the campaign, including local disbursements, are left by the Republicans chiefly to captains of districts, who have about four hundred voters to look after and from fifty dollars to one hundred dollars to do it with. Their direct action upon voters is more through

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has enjoyed unusual opportunities for securing an inside view of State and national politics, admits it for the Empire State. It is true the attorney-general of South Carolina says, "We are all too honest or too poor to spend anything in elections. No vote can be bought in South Carolina"; and the attorney-general of Texas declares, "We never had any venal voting to speak of. We are pure, honest patriots and good Democrats and vote for our country—not for money"; and the attorney-general of Washington states, "There is no venal voting to diminish here." But human nature is much the same everywhere; and since our Connecticut laws are better than most laws, I know not why many other States may not be nearly or quite as bad as my own. And therefore the question, What should be done to reform these abuses? ought to be of more than local interest.

1. Insist upon fair education and a good moral character before admitting men to vote. A wild raid upon the foreign element and immigration is not here in place; in some of our States the foreign element distinctly raises the average of education among

"treating." They are too shrewd to keep written lists of the purchasable. There are about one thousand tramps who, however, register and vote often. They receive from three to five dollars a day. Eighty detectives were successfully employed in their exclusion in 1888. In the county (this by hearsay) many are squarely bought—they treat the fee as a *per diem* for "work lost." A hundred dollars is sometimes paid for a vote there. The proportion of purchasables in one rural town goes beyond ten per cent. Colored voters are more venal than the whites, though the venal among them have decided preferences and will follow these even at some pecuniary sacrifice. Presidential elections are not greatly influenced by bribery, but local ones, more particularly congressional, are. One candidate for Congress spent twenty thousand dollars. Owing to the great cost local managers frequently agree to run only certain candidates on each ticket in earnest. The majority of the bribed belong to the so-called respectable class. When bribery is once introduced it stays. It is like leprosy. The Republican National Committee had a million and a half dollars to spend in 1888. The New York State Committee has more often under than over one hundred thousand dollars. It makes grants to senatorial, rarely to assembly districts, for the most part only where there is a fair prospect of success. A Republican candidate for mayor in New York City seldom contributes over twenty-five hundred dollars. Democratic candidates go as high as twenty-five thousand dollars. Candidates for judgeships on the latter ticket have been known to pay one hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars. Of late ten thousand dollars and fifteen thousand dollars are the usual amounts. The law requiring candidates to divulge expenses is a failure. Candidates swear as required; but how they reconcile their consciences to it my informant does not understand. The law might have been so cast as to more nearly accomplish its purpose. The new ballot law has diminished venality. More votes are influenced by employers of labor than by bribers.

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whites. In Alabama, 25 per cent of the native whites over ten years of age are unable to write, against 7.7 per cent foreign; in Mississippi, 16.6 per cent native against 6 per cent foreign; in North Carolina, 31.7 per cent native against 3.3 per cent foreign; in South Carolina and Virginia, respectively, 22.4 per cent and 18.5 per cent native against 4.9 per cent and 5.4 per cent foreign. And the tables given from Connecticut show the importance of the contribution to venality made by voters of American stock. What is needed is rather a fair educational qualification rigidly insisted upon. Connecticut has long had such a requirement, but it has been loosely administered. The law makes the constitution or statutes the text-book for reading. This has often been made void by collusion of examining officials, themselves interested. A poor fellow had, as was supposed, learned thoroughly his lesson. It was Art. I., Sec. 17, one line and one word long: "Every citizen has a right to bear arms in defence of himself and the State." "Read that," said the selectman, pointing at the place. The scholar hesitated, blushed, perspired, and then blurted out: "Every man shall have a right to carry a goon!" The constitution specifies no particular language. Accordingly I find that seven or eight voters in one town have been admitted on an examination in a Hebrew version of a clause in the constitution, translated by a rabbi and read in his presence! Not so striking philologically, but more droll, is the following: Under a former selectman great numbers of men "presented Irish," as college examiners would now say. A local leader who was dubbed "King" M— acted as interpreter, and for a score of years numbers of the sons of Erin were admitted to the privileges of freemen on the "King's" translation and his oath. One day the selectman broke out: "'King,' I don't believe you know Irish yourself!" and thereupon he sent for a man whom he thought surely "up" in Irish; and the verdict of this judge was that if the "King" knew Irish he didn't—which was of doubtful decisiveness, but sufficed nevertheless to banish one king, if it did not set up another. From whatever cause, it is said to be a fact that there are one thousand voters to-day in the city of Hartford who cannot read. Connecticut's case is an example of what a law might have been and has not been made.

The same is true of her moral qualification. The first selectman in Hartford, whose official memory goes back ten years, tells me he never knew of a man being refused on that score. And yet many voters must have been made whose record would not have borne examination. "That is not what people are thinking about when they

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make voters," he dryly remarked. But they ought to be. It is to my notion an infamy second only to that of similar laxness in religious associations that political commonwealths should let in and keep in all that any political clique may want to see in, without regard to moral qualification. While speaking of education preliminary to voting, attention should be called to the office of the school-teacher in this respect. Even with our present manuals, silent for the most part it is to be feared on the subject, if the teachers of the United States were to use thoroughly their opportunity, a better understanding of the duties and responsibilities of the voter might presently come to prevail. I refer here to teachers of all kinds, in Sunday and in day schools, and to those teachers *par excellence*—the clergy and the editors. Thus far the last named, whatever their shortcomings, have had a virtual monopoly of the work.

Naturally, sanity should be insisted upon as a qualification of the voter. This is done in fourteen States—California, Indiana, Iowa, Kentucky, Maryland, Minnesota, Nebraska, New Jersey, Ohio, Oregon, South Dakota, Texas, Washington, and Wyoming—but not in Connecticut. In the three towns already tabulated one idiot votes; and one man who for habitual drunkenness is under a conservator, and one crazy man, who, however, has not voted for years, are on the list. The superintendents of the Hartford and Middletown insane-hospitals inform me that only one each of their respective charges has been known to vote. But the law ought to be clear. There ought also to be an oath, and it ought to have some direct relation to the matter in hand and be administered in a distinct voice and a decorous manner. If it in terms pledged the candidate to vote always according to conscience and never to give or take a bribe of any kind, some good might be accomplished and no harm.

2. Make continuance of the enjoyment of the suffrage dependent upon the sustaining of a good moral character. The facts above related will show how far this is from being the present status of things even in Connecticut. What it is in the numerous States where nothing of the kind is thought of at any stage in the history of the voter may be divined. I am aware that there are many States, including Connecticut, which disfranchise for certain crimes. But the curious thing is that the line is drawn where it is. In one town in Connecticut there have been two recent disfranchisements—for stealing a rooster and a pair of reins. Yet the one hundred and five persons in the two lists already referred to who are not of the female sex, with

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four exceptions disfranchised for theft, go on voting year after year, and will so continue until they are buried in drunkards' graves. They know every doggery and brothel by heart; they have been through every mire of filth and degradation; they are never in possession of their faculties except when unwillingly forced to temporary sobriety by the lack of the wretched funds wherewith to purchase cheap drink—and yet they vote. They are utterly lost to self-respect, and their very contact pollutes and degrades—and yet they vote. They are incorrigible criminals and pass half their time in jail; but their offence is formally styled "misdemeanor," and the place of incarceration happens to be called "jail," not "prison." And so they vote and are not disfranchised. Common sense and public policy require that these persons be restrained of their liberty by confinement in some prison where the discipline will be suited to their cases—and that for an indefinite period. The present course gives them no chance for recovery and gives society no respite from the fearful financial and moral burden of their presence and their support. Concerning this class the Hon. Nathaniel Shipman, Judge of the United States Circuit Court, writes to me:

"Reformatory institutions of the character which the large wealth of a State can provide, under the care of officers who have acquired by study and experience some knowledge of the discipline and the means which are adapted to cure rather than to punish, will be in the not far distant future provided for these victims of disease, of heredity, and of crime, and in which the length of confinement shall depend, so far as may be, upon the benefit which has been attained. A second commitment to such an institution should, alike for the sake of the criminal and society, carry with it his disfranchisement, subject to reinstatement by judicial decree."

Judge W. J. McConville, of the Hartford police court, writes in a similar strain, adding that his conclusions are based upon the experiences of his court, most of the business of which grows out of drunkenness. The Hon Elisha Carpenter, of the Supreme Court of Connecticut, has also expressed to me his sympathy, with the suggestion that incorrigible misdemeanants should be disfranchised. Such persons are costing Hartford each not far from five dollars a week year in and year out, in police and almshouse charges alone, and there are more like them there and elsewhere. They are generally self-perpetuating, both physically and morally. To the other counts in the formidable indictment against them is now added that of political debauchery, from which henceforth they can never escape. Hartford has done well in appointing a committee to approach the legislature in behalf

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of more reasonable treatment of them and their kind. Good success to it in its labors!

But the proper treatment of common drunkards will reach only a fraction of the cases. There is another class among whom venality has been seen to prevail very largely—the intemperate. The law has not yet taken hold of these because they avoid disorderly conduct while intoxicated. A more judicious treatment of them is called for. They belong to a corrupt and corrupting school, and do not merit the forbearance they commonly receive. They demoralize the young by the exhibition of themselves upon the streets. The police in some communities show them to their homes, in others rarely molest them. They should be arrested and punished, whether disorderly or not. And here, as everywhere, obedience to the law should be made a condition to the exercise of the franchise. A man who cannot or will not keep the law is not the person to make laws for himself or for others. Two arrests, followed by punishment, the same year, or arrest and punishment two successive years, might without injustice be followed by disfranchisement.

And both these considerations call for more rational treatment of the whole drink question. The most available remedy seems to me to be the elimination of personal greed from the business of selling intoxicants. The profits are now so large and certain for the conscienceless that the conscienceless go into the business, and the condition to which they degrade the trade keeps the better class of people out of it. The Hon. Joseph Chamberlain, M.P., came very near the remedy in 1878.[1] And the Scandinavians have perhaps come still nearer a remedy. They give the monopoly of the business to corporations of reputable citizens, who bind themselves to retain only a moderate and fixed profit for themselves, turning the balance into the municipal treasuries. Having no incentive to the contrary course, these dealers sell legally and rationally, refusing minors, paupers, and drunkards, and selling only in moderation to any. There seems no doubt that drunkard-making has greatly fallen off there with the growth of this system; and the local communities frequently derive from their share of the profits enough to cover their

[1] His plan was to authorize municipalities to purchase the interests of the rum-sellers and thereafter to conduct the business themselves in lawful and reasonable methods. His bill was offered in Parliament, but not pressed because, as he tells me in a letter recently received, he found that the Teetotalers were going to oppose it. He says that he is, however, more than ever convinced of the soundness of his former views.

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entire expenses. What we want is to stop drunkard-making. Temperate men, besides their other uses, are found to be for the most part non-purchasable.

3. When these things have been duly attended to, let us have the best secret-ballot law you can contrive. There are twenty-eight States of the thirty-six from which I have returns that have introduced some kind of a secret-ballot law, seventeen of them the Australian, eight a modification of it, and yet require no reading test; they represent more than forty-four millions out of the fifty-five enumerated. There are seven which are at least consistent. They are Alabama, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Wyoming. Of these, Alabama and North and South Carolina are consistent at the expense of what is perhaps quite as valuable, for they have no secret-ballot law and no reading test, while the other four have both. Curiously enough, those four are the only ones out of the thirty-six which require even a reading test, while Massachusetts stands alone in exacting the meagre qualification of ability to write one's own name! Now, one of the uses of the Australian system may undoubtedly be to weed out illiterate voters. But one would say it might be more direct, at least, to do that by an efficient education clause honestly enforced. Otherwise the system is, from this standpoint, not much more than a trick; not essentially different from the "eight-ballot-box system" of my correspondent the attorney-general of South Carolina, who thus describes that system:

> "The eight-box law requires considerable mental attainment, and is really an educational qualification, nothing more, nothing less; and we find it absolutely necessary to preserve our civilization in the presence of the horde of ignorant slaves turned loose upon us by our conquerors."

This Australian system and its modifications have hardly been tried here long enough to show what the scheme is really capable of doing in the way of stopping bribery. Ten of the twenty-five States which have introduced it discreetly fail to answer the question on this point. Virginia thinks it has not diminished venality and California and Massachusetts say it has had no effect. Including other secret-ballot systems with it, a majority of the evidence is in favor of the utility of a secret-ballot law for preventing corruption. But since all secret-ballot laws can be defeated by bribing people to stay at home, it might become necessary to disfranchise people who do not actually vote. And if thereupon the pleasant fiction of the representative character of the voter should be abandoned and political power,

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whether of towns or States, graduated according to the actual number qualified to vote, permitted to vote, and voting, some of our present troubles and dangers might possibly be averted.

4. There should be absolute frankness and plain dealing with ourselves and others. Open the windows! Let in light and air! We need to learn the exact facts before a remedy can be devised. And as long as local vanity and Commonwealth pride deter people from seeing and admitting the truth concerning their own States we shall be and continue to be irreformable. The truest friend of any locality is the man who in a proper spirit tells the truth to that locality. Similarly, this is no occasion for Pharisaism. "Let every man sweep before his own door."

When these stages of improvement have been successively made, then, and not till then, as I venture to believe, will bribery be practically punishable, for much of it will have been abolished, and public opinion would sustain, as it will not now sustain, serious attempts at enforcement of the laws against that part of it which remains. It might then, as now it would not, be fair and safe to punish the briber with disfranchisement or imprisonment, leaving the bribed to go free in consideration of his testimony, or to adopt any other drastic measure. At present bribery is in the peculiar position of being everywhere condemned and nowhere punished. There are only two States, New Hampshire and North Dakota, which have no provision for disfranchisement. Yet who ever heard of the exaction of the penalty?

But I am painfully aware that the cause of the disorder which we have been studying is deep-seated. It is moral, and morality cannot be produced by legislation. Legislation can only make it harder and more unpleasant to do wrong. I have been struck by the remark of a man, himself "not much of a Christian," as he would probably say, that "among the foreign element you will find venality most where the religion of childhood and its restraints have been abandoned." That this is true for both the American and the more recently transplanted stocks, I think this paper shows. Organized goodness is the best remedy against organized badness. But the State, too, can do much. It is high time people should begin to care. The bird of America is not an ostrich. There are some things it cannot keep on digesting forever; and one of these is venal voting.

J. J. McCook.

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THE LITERATURE OF THE FUTURE.

AMONG the questions the importance of which no one understands very clearly, there is one, I am told, that is put as often as any, not only to writers and artists, but to every one and by every one: What will be the literature of the future? This suggests to my mind the guessing games we used to play when we were children, and even a long time afterward, if we had the good fortune to remain children for a long time. These are called social games, and as it is good form not to avoid answering the questions asked in them, I do not see why I should not give my answer in my turn. "Come enter the round," says an old popular song. So here I am, and after the circle of literary standard-bearers has formed around me, I shall be able to say exactly whom I like and what I like: that is, what writers and what works I hope will live.

For the past few years the cry has been repeated in every key, "Naturalism is dead." But did it ever really live? The school has undoubtedly created a stir, and it has been very much talked about. But has it ever found real friends? We paid altogether too dear for the amount of truth it had to offer when we obtained it at the price of accepting the works in which it gloried. If some writers of this school have by their merits and in spite of all obstacles acquired great repute, it is because they have possessed qualities almost in contradiction to the principles that the school professed. As for the crowd of poor little disciples that applied conscientiously the theories their masters preached, I do not believe there ever were writers that produced weariness and disgust more surely and more speedily. There is hardly a work of theirs that you do not wish to throw aside after reading the first few pages. With the imitators of other schools, if you are bored by their works, too, you at least need not lose your self-respect because you keep their books in your hand and let your eye glance over their pages; if they do not charm you, they certainly will not hurt you, and that is something after all.

Naturalism could not live. It seems that after its first triumph its generals and its soldiers were dispersed, and the most talented of

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those that succeeded in the beginning must have been the first to flee from it, or rather must have been the first to be converted to something broader, something more lofty, more inspiring. Now we have surely ceased crossing this lake of troubled and unwholesome waters. Ah, yes, there are in the world plague spots, and slime, and malevolent beasts, and loathsome weeds. But go forward a few steps, and you will find yourself in the wide, sweet-scented plain close by waving forests. Go forward still a little farther, and you will be on the vast shores where the purifying oceans come to die. And if you look at men with pity, you will at once find brothers on every side. There is more life, more nature and truth, in all this than in the scandals in which you have too long taken delight.

You wish to soil with mire the ridiculous yet touching little heaven of blue pasteboard, toward which, you say, the poor faded eyes of aged spinsters have too often been raised. I doubt if this be a laudable task. However, it is done. Let us not restore, if you do not like it, the little heaven with its gilt-paper stars, but let us not go back to the swamps where there has already been too much wallowing in the mud. And would that it could be said with truth, that what has been called naturalism is really dead!

There is no lack of prophets when predictions are made with regard to what will take the place of naturalism, which is already dispossessed of its passing influence. As a general rule, each young writer takes upon himself as his first duty to rally to a well-known formula, or to endeavor to create a formula that he believes to be new; and then he goes about repeating that this is to be the principle of the future. And as a great number of these have done me the honor to send me their little reviews—some of which are very curious and some full of fine promises, and of good pages too—in which they philosophize in this way, I have been successively informed that the literature of the future is to be confined to psychology, to symbolism, to mysticism, to the new naturalism, as well as to scientificism, to magnificism, and even to instrumentalism. I doubtless pass over some of those that consist only of groups in *ism*, baptized with the names of such and such a writer of more or less notoriety. I acknowledge that some of these words seem barbarous to me, and have rather discouraged me from trying to discover what their real meaning may be. I acknowledge, too, that I have not always perceived very clearly, when I have taken pains to seek for it, what connection there could be between the works labeled in such an odd way and the

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labels themselves; and I very quickly abandoned the effort to obtain a more satisfactory knowledge of one and all. It would be very difficult for me, then, to discuss them without exposing myself to inexactness—and I shall not undertake the task. I also renounce all claim to knowing which class of writers can have or will have in their turn a vogue of several months or of several years. I dispense with a knowledge of these things the more cheerfully since I really consider all these questions quite useless.

If a man believes that he has some talent for writing, it is indeed strange that he can allow himself to be directed by a master or by the rule of any school, no matter how great the master may be or how skilfully devised the rule may seem. It is all very well not to call one's self a naturalist; but why call one's self anything else? In the first place, is it possible for a writer, no matter how much he may wish to believe it, to belong to any particular school? No, and very fortunately, it seems to me. A human being, whatever his quality may be, is, upon close examination, seen to be a very mysterious and a very complex creature, compared with which even the most subtle ideas are only very slight, very simple, and very elementary products. To allow one's self to be warped, then; to subject one's own nature even to the laws of æsthetics, which are claimed to be the broadest and the most plastic of laws, is equivalent to annihilating part of one's own individuality. Imagine what will happen if these rules are petty, narrow, and uncompromising.

I have said that very fortunately the subjugation of one's self in this way is more difficult and more rare than it is supposed to be. For the very reason that the mind is only a limited and an imperfectly developed force, it is impossible for any one that is at all generously gifted with creative ability to suppress or control the more manifold, profound, and illusive forces that constitute personality. At best, a few second-rate writers have something to gain by making themselves the slaves of a theory in behalf of which they beat the big drum and try to drown the noise of the neighboring booth; if the idlers come up and stop for a moment to listen to the cheap show in their house, you will see them actually applauding these idlers, or perhaps hailing them, and their ambition extends no farther than to see themselves applauded in the same way. But of what advantage is it for writers of ability, who aspire to something higher than any kind of glory, to hamper themselves with bonds, when even these bonds are artificial?

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It seems to me that in the olden times, when I was at college—if my recollection of half-heard lectures on literary history serve me—it was not the fashion to make so many distinctions, and writers were classed simply as good or bad authors. Mistakes may sometimes have been made, and no doubt the judgments, too, were often partial; but in the end this classification was the more just, and, indeed, it is the only one that can have a significance of any value. To classify one's self according to a school is equivalent to binding one's self to support all those that claim to fight under the same banner, no matter how insignificant they may be, and, at the same time, to being always exposed to the risk of doing injustice to those that have gone to fight in another camp. Therefore, even if I knew the exact list of all the literary sects appealing to the public, I should not predict success for any of them. Since I must, in spite of myself, make a prophecy here, I am going to say one thing that will perhaps seem to be very ingenuous, but that will be seen by those with a little perspicacity to be not at all ingenuous—the only reply that can be made to the good people tormented by a desire to know what the literature of to-morrow will be. Ah, well, to-morrow the good writers will have their triumphs, just as they have unquestionably done in the past. If it be ingenuous to say that, I have at least not said it ingenuously, for I see very clearly that it now obliges me to offer some explanation with regard to what I understand by the expression, "a good writer."

To tell the truth, I have never thought much about it, and I do not claim to transcribe in these few pages all the qualities by which the good writer may be known; I will merely offer some of the reflections—and without trying very hard to put them in order, for fear of becoming too entangled—that my thought on the subject has suggested to me. I do not need to add that I should be the first to smile at any one that believed it possible to judge a work of art by relying on such notes as these. Besides, this task would be impossible, even if the most logically arranged course of æsthetics that one could possibly imagine were taken for a guide.

It seems to me that the only way to judge a work of art is spontaneously; by the intensity as well as by the kind of emotion it excites. And I see now that this expression that I have just used, "to judge a work of art," has perhaps no real meaning, or at least has no general meaning; for as each of us has emotional faculties peculiar to himself, infinitely varied according to his nature, it is only by virtue

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of an agreement, of a kind of tacit decision that we have made not to insist upon the shades of difference between us, that any one can say to several people at once, "Such a work moves me, such a work is beautiful." But it is possible to conclude that a work that has found no responsive echo among people capable of feeling strong or tender emotion has no claim to be considered a work of art. If one be disposed to jest, he will say that this is bad, and in this way at least he will always be sure to succeed in being perfectly understood.

It seems to me that to understand another fully is equivalent to making one's self another's equal, that is, to entering into all that constitutes another's life. This is perhaps why all our admiration or our love is often so brief, so imperfect. You have had a thrill of joy or your heart has been torn with pity, and during the instant this has lasted you have truly lived the life of another. You have admired, you have loved; and that is often all. Like two clouds that blend, which a thousand influences rend apart, you harmonize with another, you give yourself up; you have understood another being, you have been the other being for an instant, and then, perhaps, a thousand new influences come and carry you away toward destinies and loves that you yourself could not have foreseen. Too happy the writer if the instinct that has forced him to sing for others the song of his soul, find its justification in the favor that it wins, in the cordiality with which for a moment it is greeted. And too happy the reader if the vague desire of uplifting his mind, which has made him open some book of his choice, be rewarded with anything more than the show of satisfaction, and if he continue to feel after the reading is over and forgotten, any of the inspiration that he has received from the poet whom for one moment he has loved. But the reader, in order to be raised by a work of art into this communion, whether it be fleeting or lasting, after taking a momentary survey of his own life, must have seen passing before him, by the all-powerful effect of art, the very life of another, and the apparent or hidden sympathy—it makes no difference which—between them should then have effected in a second the intimate communion of two beings, while gleamed the vast rent made by the shrivelling thunderbolts of grief or the infinite expanse of those soothing flashes of happiness that the same breath caused to appear and disappear in the summer evening sky.

To give an impression of life, this is the whole secret of art, and this is the secret of the art of the future as it was the secret of the art of the past. But it is a great secret; that is to say, it is a mysteri-

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ous, an elusive, an indefinite thing that cannot be formulated, that no explanation can succeed in explaining, that proves its own existence by evidence that overwhelms us in its force, the origin of which we know not and cannot resist. Consequently, we do not resist this inexpressible and terrifying force which a presentiment tells us is the principle of our own life. To give an impression of life, with all the compelling charm which life carries with itself and which makes us throw ourselves with the same passion toward all joys and all sufferings—it is this that constitutes a creative work, and I can very well understand all the bold, and even absurdly arrogant, comparisons among really great artists that have been made, as to what was or is the unfathomable principle from which all things emanate. A poet is for men a kind of god, linked to those that live the life he has created, just as the nameless power that was the origin of all things may itself be linked to the universe. It would be as absurd for us to attempt to explain the life of our own creations as to attempt to explain the life of the universe. But if we do not know what the essence of life is, we can at least study and note its manifestations, and I should like to try now to explain what, briefly it seems to me, cannot fail to be discovered every time a really living work of art is studied.

To excite an emotion, it seems to me, ought to be the object of every work of art. Different arts produce their effects by different means, but sometimes the means are strangely confounded, and this serves admirably to prove the close, the mysterious, the unaccountable kinship that unites creative artists, whatever may be the art of which they are masters. But if you consider for a moment the literary art stripped of all those ingraftments it has had to suffer, if you wish to see it as a tree of natural growth, with all the purity of its essential and primordial perfume, you will, in my opinion, have to conclude that it must reach the common goal of all the arts precisely by the expression of emotion, that is to say, by exciting emotion.

I must at once anticipate an objection here. It will perhaps be said that one need not express anything directly, that it is necessary only to suggest. At bottom this is merely a quarrel of words; for as our feelings can be of infinite diversity, it is evident that not only thousands but an infinity of shades of expression will be sought for all these feelings, from the purely animal cry that suffering can wring from us, to the most elusive and almost indescribable emotions of the soul before the subtle melancholy of life, those vague, inexpressible

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emotions that ever tempt to exhaustion the efforts of the most marvellous and delicate of poets.

If we merely try to speak of these finer and more tender feelings, we create the need of less precise expressions, which we form on general lines, which we venture hesitatingly, in the wording of which we take great care, which we polish brilliantly or shade delicately, until they become, so to speak, translucent. And as, after all, we have to go back and sum up all our feelings by the word "happiness" or by the word "sorrow," it will in this case be said that emotion, whether of joy or of sorrow, has not been expressed directly, but has only been suggested; while it will be said that writers who are impressed only by simple ideas, both the cause and effect of which are very marked, express directly what they have felt. I think that it is forcing the sense of words to speak in this way. The word "remote" rather than "suggested" should be used. For if it is the function of music, for example, to be suggestive, I do not think one can say that this is the function of literature, except to the limited degree in which literature shares the nature of music.

As for the use of the symbol, it can be very effective if it be understood; and I know examples of its use in certain sacred books of the old religions. However, I find in these only a figure of speech, maintained for rather long time and in a rather veiled way, that, according to its nature and according to the natural genius of the poet that tries it, can acquire charm and grandeur, or indeed speedily become tiresome, but is, on the whole, only a form, and to me appears in every case useless and meaningless if it serve not to express an emotion that I can feel. As for the vague symbols that symbolize nothing, under the pretence that any part of nature can be used to symbolize anything, and in which I can find only a succession of figures—sometimes beautiful or pleasing in themselves, but incoherent and incapable of moving me—I acknowledge that I consider these useless too, and that my fancies can, of themselves, conjure up before my eyes and mind plenty of pictures that, having this superior merit of being united for me to an intense feeling of life, will lead me much more surely to the realms of pain or ecstasy.

Before insisting on what I think should characterize the literary art or what differentiates it most clearly from other arts, that is to say, upon the fact that it is in the very expression of the emotions that it finds its greatest force, it would perhaps be useful for me to say in what particulars, according to my judgment, those people err

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that take a different view from the one I have just presented. As for the theorists that claim it should be a "copy of life," that it should show us "a slice of reality," and a bleeding slice at that, I will say, in the first place, they use expressions that are decidedly not nice, and then, too, I will take pains to ask if they are not condemned by the meaning of these very expressions. When we use the word "copyist" we mean "imitator," and when we speak of a "bleeding slice" we suggest the idea of death—of recent death, if you prefer it—but certainly of a thing or a being that is inert, lifeless. To confine one's self directly to the application of these principles can end only in a waste of words, and this is not art, since there is nothing creative, nothing vital in it. I know that some writers, holding to the most untenable theories, can produce very artistic works, just as some writers can achieve nothing of merit even when they follow the best-established principles. All this proves that there is often very little connection between the mysterious and all-powerful basis of our natures and the poor little uncertain laws our minds try to formulate. And no doubt this is fortunate, and we should be grateful, since we are organized for feeling rather than understanding, and since every time that intelligence meets an obstacle it cannot surmount, the resource still remains to us to go, by the mere force of our sensibility, farther toward the unknowable, to venture deeper into the infinite incomprehensible. I therefore shall pass over the dissimilarity, which is sometimes remarkably complete, existing between certain works and the theories according to which they are written. It is for this reason that, without taking into account the possible worth of the works of each theoretical writer, I shall not hesitate to say that every one of them that undertakes to assign any limited function to the literary art seems to me to be in error.

Ought, then, the function of literature to be, as some writers have maintained, to instruct us with regard to the manners and customs of a particular period? But the historians, the chroniclers, and the archæologists are amply sufficient for this work, and in all probability they will do it with a better method, with more care, and with a greater appreciation of the value of their documents than the *littérateur* can do. Must literature confine itself to depicting the world and its changing aspects? The geographers, naturalists, and the scholars of all kinds will always do this in a far more thorough manner, and if, perchance, some rather picturesque phrases are missed from their books, we shall be fully repaid by the number, the force, and the precision

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of their information. Must literature be content to make a minute analysis of the mental condition of the characters it presents? Do we forget that to analyze is to dissect, consequently to destroy, to kill, or at least to work upon dead material? That is the work of a novice, and is good, if at all, in school-days, as it is perhaps good that a composer should have studied and dissected symphonies before giving himself up to his own inspiration; but this is not the work of an artist, of a creator. Is it the function of literature to defend a moral or a religious thesis? This is the work of priests, of directors of the conscience, and of reformers, who cut themselves off from the world in order to devote themselves to pure thought. Have we not plenty of philosophers, metaphysicians, and ideologists of all kinds?

No, none of these things constitutes the function of literature. Let me add, however, that literature can contain them all, for it can contain everything; since everything in our lives and in the lives of other men as well as in nature, in the world of feeling as well as in the world of ideas, can be to us a source of emotion. If the writer, the poet, have not first and foremost an acute perception of life, if his mind be not quick not only to see deeply into everything in his own life, but also to feel all the emotions of humanity, how will he be able to interest me when he describes events that he has experienced or the experiences and passions of others? If he depict for me a bit of nature, an ephemeral or an unchangeable aspect of life, and if he choose to tell me all that has touched his sensibility, taking pains not to omit even the finest shades, shall I not see in his words only a series of enumerations? What does it matter to me i his narratives are presented in harmonious phrases, with well-chosen words or beautiful figures of speech—with what is called "virtuosity in style"? All this remaining cold and lifeless will be incapable of creating in me an impression of life, incapable of moving me. I shall find that it is only a mosaic of words, in which I can see nothing but words. Whereas all my nature will thrill with the great thrill that living beings impart, if something has suddenly revealed to me all the emotion that the spectacle described to me—even every one of its most thrilling details—has excited in the mind of the poet. And if religion, morals, philosophy, or any subject whatsoever is discussed in a work of literature, what feelings of joy or of terror are aroused provided that this is to show me how a mind is moved by such thoughts, and that it is in order to re-create life for me and not merely to exhibit a system.

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It is clear that the task of the writer is vast, that it is absolutely without limit, inasmuch as nothing exists in life that cannot move our feelings; and one may be sure that if it is thus understood it will have the infinite diversity of life, since the emotions of every human being can be so varied, so complex, that no matter how great the innate resemblance may be in the ways by which they are manifested in us, they nevertheless always appear different, even among kindred souls, very much as living human beings give us an impression of a personal and different existence, however similar they may be in appearance as well as in their origin and in their end. It is, therefore, the faculties of sensibility that create personality in the artist; and the more numerous, the more profound, the more developed, and at the same time the finer, the keener these faculties are, the stronger personality will be. But when personality is created, or in other words, when the inner life becomes intense enough to penetrate more and more the outer life and to absorb it into itself, how can and how ought this personality to manifest itself?

It seems to me now that the answer obtrudes itself; and although I feel sure it will seem to condemn all the learned treatises that have been devised to show how great works are written, I will not hesitate to express in all simplicity my feeling on this subject. In my opinion it is, after all, very simple; the writer should do what he wishes to do, and do it in his own way, obeying only the all-powerful impulse that he has felt rising from the depths of his nature, without accepting any other judge than the wholly spontaneous impression his own work gives him. What an author has written in this way, whether it be memoir, phantasy, romance, drama, poem, or any other name you please, whether it can or cannot be put into a school catalogue, whether it have or have not success with the mob—all this is immaterial; for all true lovers of artistic work will surely recognize it if they find in it the breath of life, without which nothing can exist for them. I do not claim that in making any work, and in any way, a writer can always produce a real achievement, even if he have the keenest sensibility. It is evident there must be, in addition, a thorough preparation; he must, by the instruction he has had, by the education he has received, perhaps by a thousand fruitless preliminary efforts, have unconsciously accumulated in himself a power of artistic expression equivalent to the power of emotion that is the mainspring of all. But the writer must keep from philosophizing about this, for fear of speedily transforming it into a

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system; that is, for fear of introducing into his own work a destructive element that would ruin it, or would, little by little, weaken it, and end by transforming it into the work of a mere hack, which is the same as a dead thing.

But if to throw one's self into one's work heart and soul, and without introspection, each time it is undertaken, is not an infallible method of producing works endowed with all the undying charm of life, it is nevertheless the only way one can succeed, the only chance one has of gaining utterance in perfect harmony with personality. For in this way all the qualities that form the basis of our nature operate and manifest themselves to the exact degree in which we possess them, and nothing produced in this way can seem artificial. Besides, by the same means we shall have preserved all that creates our intellectual individuality, and no matter how great the apparent diversity may be in all that we have aimed at in our works, they will preserve this fundamental unity in which we shall resume our own characters, without which nothing can subsist. To think thus is to deny all success to the clever, to the craftsman, to the acrobats of book and style. I believe that in reality, now more than ever, the future has nothing for them. We can be amused for a time with brilliant feats, but we tire of them quickly, especially when we see that there are no more new ones to be devised.

But mandarin of letters though a man be, as he is above all human, a being alive and with a thirst for life, I am very sure that he must always end by going back to the works which he knows were spontaneous productions, which he sees are profoundly sincere, which send forth an echo of the soul, an echo of life. But this always was true, and I repeat, it will doubtless always be thus. And for this reason new poets will keep coming, who will eternally sing for their brother man the song of their souls, their joys and their fears in the presence of life and death, in the presence of love, in the presence of the enigma of the world. And however old the song may seem, it will nevertheless be new each time, as smiles and tears are always new though they are eternal.

PIERRE LOTI.

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THE PRIMARY THE PIVOT OF REFORM.

"AN ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure" is a proverb too true and too old to be neglected by our generation. We hear on all sides complaints of misgovernment. Many people utter them every hour of the day; the newspapers repeat them from sheet to sheet. No sooner does Congress or a State legislature close its sessions, annual or biennial, than a sigh of relief is heard from thousands of lips. The constitutions of most of our States have been changed to escape the infliction of annual legislatures. These things are not encouraging to the admirers of our Government. Whether there be a real foundation for the complaints or whether they be the outcome of heated imaginations, or of thoughtless exaggerations, or even fiction, I do not take it upon me to say. What I wish to do is to help stop the complaints by showing that whether unfounded or well founded, they have their causes in ourselves and are not difficult of remedy.

This is a popular government, that is to say, a government of the people; to which our orators add, by the people and for the people. The latter words are included in the former and their only use is to give emphasis to the first. Let us look a little closely into the matter. If it were possible to get all the people together into one assembly and then take their votes, we might have a real government of the people. That, however, is impossible. Such a practice exists nowhere, except perhaps in some of the small cantons of Switzerland. Therefore whatever act of government is done among us must be done directly or indirectly by delegation. A certain number of voters in specified districts meet and choose their delegates. These delegates may choose petty officers for their own districts, or they may meet other delegates from other districts to choose officers with larger functions or new delegates to larger conventions, until at last there is a national convention, composed of delegates from States, themselves delegated through all the gradations from villages or wards of cities to conventions representing the States respectively.

These primary assemblies are naturally called primaries, and their voices pass, like the echoes of the Taj of Agra, from gallery to gallery

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upward until they reach the dome. Even thus the arrangement is not perfect, for it may happen that the nominees selected by the last set of delegates represent not a majority of the whole people, but a minority. Even in the representation of the States in Congress great inequalities exist. Nevada sends two members to the United States Senate and one to the House of Representatives, although in 1880 it had a population of only 62,266, while Ward 19 of the city of New York numbered 158,191. I believe that statistics will show that a majority of the New York Assembly has been sometimes elected by a minority of the voters of the State.

Defective, however, as it may be, the plan of delegation is the one that comes nearest to a government of the people possible in this country so far as our political experience has yet brought us. The primary is the pivot on which the whole machinery is made to turn. If this primary is attended and watched, we shall have what I may call primary delegates representing in reality their respective districts. Should bad men be chosen or nominated, the people would be responsible for the failure. They would have no right to complain, except as they might happen to find after an election that the men whom they had chosen, supposing them to be good men, had turned out to be bad ones.

The primaries in the city of New York are to a certain extent now regulated by law. How it is elsewhere I will not stop to inquire, only observing meanwhile that what has been enacted in New York can be enacted elsewhere if need be. By our statute the arm of the law is extended over "every political primary election held by any political party, organization, or association for the purpose of choosing candidates for office, or the election of delegates to conventions, or for the purpose of electing officers of any political party, organization, or association." The primary is thus protected against the intrusion of outsiders and against violence within. Any voter of any party may at will join the primary association of his party. Besides these provisions for the encouragement and protection of the primaries, our Ballot Reform Act permits the nomination of candidates by the certificate of a certain number of voters designating their favorite. The object of all these provisions is of course to concentrate the choice of a certain number of electors, and whenever that concentration is made known, to provide the means, without expense to the voter, of bringing the candidates thus selected before the electors for their votes.

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Now see what attention, or rather what inattention, the voter of our city pays to these beneficent provisions of the law. In the Third Assembly District, which I mention because it is the one in which I happen to live, there were cast at the last election, that of November, 1891, 2,005 votes for Mr. Fassett as governor and 4,184 for Mr. Flower, the former being the Republican candidate and the latter the Democratic. There were, therefore, at least 2,005 voters in the district belonging to the Republican party. How many of these attended the Republican primary, which in its capacity of a nominating body nominated the Republican candidate for assembly? From 100 to 150 as I am informed. The rolls of the association contained about 650 names. So that a little over one-fourth of the Republican voters thought it worth their while to join the primary association, and of these less than one-fourth actually took part in the nomination. I have not the means of giving the like particulars respecting the primary of the Democratic party, but we may assume that it would show about the like proportion. Now bear in mind that out of these two primary bodies, and others like them, came forth not only the members of the second branch of the legislature, but all the other dependent nominations and elections through which the great State of New York has been governed in the year of grace 1892.

Let not those complain of misgovernment who thus neglect their civic duties. If these negligent citizens should say that their civic duties were distasteful to them or interfered with their business, let them reflect that their neglect may cost them more than their fidelity to duty. Neglect may indeed be the most expensive thing that can happen in their business. Take for example the Speedway Act, by which a portion of our Central Park was to be converted into a race-course. It was passed in March and repealed in April. The outburst of indignation against it was unmistakable. More than two hundred thousand persons were said to have made themselves heard at the Capitol clamoring for repeal. The cost of this enforced repeal was great and the annoyance greater. Would it not have been cheaper for the citizens of New York to attend to their nominations beforehand? Would it not have been better to lock the stable door before the steed was stolen than to pay for bringing him back and locking the door afterward?

The voters are vehemently solicited at every general election to rush to the polls and save the people from ruin. But if the nominations are bad, how little is the use of votes. The truth is that the voting

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plays a secondary part in a New York City election. It is the nomination which turns the scale for good or evil, and the primary makes the nomination. If both parties should nominate good candidates, good men would hold office, whichever party won the election. There may indeed be elections in which great principles are at stake; but the occasions are rare in which the voter is obliged to choose between a good policy with a bad candidate and a bad policy with a good candidate.

The practical politicians jeer at us for our simple folly. This is what one of them said the other day: "*It's great sport to see people go to the polls in hordes and vote like cattle for the ticket we prepare. Reformers don't begin at the right point. They should begin at the point where nominations are made. The people think they make the nominations, but we do that business for them.*" What a boast of profligacy and shame! "*Sport*," is it, to see one's fellow-citizens led like cattle to slaughter, thinking all the while that they are going to pasture? How long shall we endure this profligacy and hear this boast? *Civis Romanus* was a boast; has *Civis Americanus* become a burden?

There is little new in what is here written. My aim is to reiterate, and by reiteration enforce, if I may be so fortunate, what has been written many times before. For myself, I must say that I would indeed go further, and require a nomination to be made by every voter when he registers his name preparatory to his exercise of the suffrage. Details could easily be arranged to secure the secrecy of such a nomination. It would be useless, however, now to enter upon the discussion of such a scheme. The public is not ready for it. Meanwhile a full attendance of the voters at the primaries as well as the polls would insure, as it seems to me, a real government of the people by the people and for the people. Reform clubs are good in their way. They bring together citizens of like opinions, beget discussion, and conduce to concert of action. But, after all, I venture to affirm that the true reform club is the primary. There is the place to begin the purification of our electoral streams and make the waters clear at the source and the fountain.

They greatly err who think that a state can long prosper in defiance of moral laws. These laws encompass with their commands and their revenges all creatures of the human race, whether they dwell within the gates of cities or in the solitudes of wildernesses. No man can live in defiance of these laws without a worm gnawing at his vitals, and no state can escape decay which acts in contempt of their authority.

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What objects can be set before the eyes of American citizens more worthy of pursuit than the good name and the good deeds of their country? To the younger citizens of the nation especially do these objects commend themselves. No glory can come to them like the glory of true statesmanship. They may heap up riches, but cannot tell who shall gather them. They may neglect their civic duties and give up their lives to business or pleasure; they may build palaces upon great estates or on fashionable thoroughfares; they may scour the seas in yachts or ride through the land in their own chariots upon roads of steel; but it is a nobler thing to build or sustain a state. The palaces and the yachts and the chariots will crumble, and the estates may pass into the hands of strangers and aliens. The citizen who helps to build a solid state upon the foundations of public virtue is creating a happy and invincible home for himself and his children and children's children.

DAVID DUDLEY FIELD.

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SUNDAY AND THE COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION.[1]

THE action of the Congress of the United States in the matter of the opening of the Exposition at Chicago was probably expressive of the sentiment of the majority of those whom Congress represents. People who live in cities, and especially those who live in cities of which the population is largely or considerably foreign, are disposed to believe that of late years a decided change of sentiment has taken place as to the mode of the observance of Sunday and in favor of the relaxation of those legal restrictions by means of which it is supposed to be protected. In cities this is undoubtedly true. Two causes have co-operated, whether in New York, Boston, Chicago, or in other communities of which these are more or less typical, to bring about such a change. One of these has been the large immigration of those from other lands to whom the American idea of Sunday is at once unintelligible and distasteful. The other cause has been the usage and example of people claiming social precedence, who, whether from personal preference or the influence of foreign customs, have chosen to disregard the traditions in which they were nurtured.

But these, after all, are not nearly so representative of the American sentiment concerning Sunday as is commonly supposed. There are, indeed, parts of the country where, as in New Orleans, Sunday usages have always been more nearly European than American; and there are probably no large towns where the stricter laws of earlier

[1] PRESENT-DAY PAPERS

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days could be re-enacted, or, if unrepealed, could be enforced. There has been, in fact, no more significant illustration of the impotence of legislation, apart from the sustaining power of public sentiment, than in this connection.

But the cities are not the country, nor may we generalize hastily from the former to the latter. Not a great while ago a convention of 30,000 delegates of the Society of Christian Endeavor assembled in New York, which in regard to the closing of the Exposition on Sunday expressed itself with most emphatic unanimity. The convention was a very impressive and a very suggestive assemblage. Anybody who had been bold enough to disparage its character or undervalue its significance would have simply made himself ridiculous. The press, that eager echo of the sentiment of the moment, treated it—and this was true even of the most disreputable newspapers—with scrupulous respect. And the reason was plain enough. Not alone the convention but the constituency which it represented was too large and too potential to be derided or disesteemed. For better or worse, it was distinctly representative of a widespread American enthusiasm, and this, indeed, to any one who stopped long enough to consider its meaning, was the essence of it. It was enthusiasm in the interest of what may be called the working sentiment of Christianity, and it was American enthusiasm. As one met the deputies or read their addresses or noted the drift of their conferences, it was refreshingly evident that they were the product of a spirit indigenous to the soil —without foreign alloy, unshackled by any sub-consciousness of foreign allegiance, profoundly persuaded of the competency of Americans to do their own thinking and give their own *mot d'ordre*. And as such it was undoubtedly, in one sense, the best expression of many of the deepest convictions of some fifty millions of people.

Does it follow, then, that most of these fifty millions of people adhere to that which may be said to be our inherited national idea about Sunday? I do not see how this can be denied; certainly the action of Congress can hardly be construed in any other way. No one seriously believes that the votes in the Senate and House of Representatives represented, as has been amiably insinuated, the "pull" of the Chicago liquor-dealers, eager to close the Exposition on Sunday that they might crowd their bar-rooms and beer saloons with the people turned away from it. But nobody, I imagine, will care, on the other hand, to maintain that the vote in Congress represents the personal conviction or the individual practice of all those

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who cast it. It was eminently a case where the representative function of a legislator came into play; and it is easy, without any smallest disrespect to Senators or Representatives, to conceive that any one of them might argue: "To me the Sunday question is as yet indifferent or obscure. In either case, I am not personally prepared to take decided ground with reference to it. But with my constituents it is a matter of profound conviction; and I am bound to respect their convictions and to be influenced by them, unless I have different convictions of my own which are equally profound." It seems very probable that the congressional vote thus pretty accurately represented this popular conviction, reckoned in the large.

But the question still remains: Is that sentiment sound and wise, and are the results of its latest expression likely to conserve the institution which it professes so sacredly to cherish? It would seem to be an opportune moment, especially in the light of the recent action at Washington, to consider such a question.

In doing so, however, it must first be remembered that this institution of Sunday as we have it in America consists of two things—the institution itself and its modern accretions. By these last I mean all that Sunday has taken on of more precise and more austere restriction in connection with the Puritan movement, whether in England or in America. I am not here concerned with the provocation for those restrictions which the Puritans and their successors have from time to time found in that tendency to degrade and secularize the day, whether in England or elsewhere, of which Christendom has seen not a little. That there was such provocation no one who deals fairly with the history of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries can deny; and it is impossible not to admire the heroic zeal of those who, to rescue from profane and unworthy uses a day consecrated to the commemoration of the Supreme Fact of the Christian Faith, bound upon themselves a yoke in the matter of its observance which was neither light nor easy. But the fact still remains that their warrant for what they did, whether we look for it in the pages of the New Testament or in the traditions of Catholic Christendom, was neither substantial nor sufficient. Of course, as we know, they went for that warrant to that older institution of the Sabbath which the First Day of the week, with its larger freedom, was early ordained to supersede. How large that freedom was, the language of that greatest of the apostles to the Gentiles, who wrote to Colossæ, "Let no man judge you in meat or in drink, or in respect of an holy day, or of the new moon or *of the Sab-*

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bath," [1] sufficiently indicates. There can be little doubt that while the Christian First Day, or Sunday, took over from the Sabbath its venerable conception of a rest day, with its scarcely less venerable traditions of religious worship, it dismissed on the one hand that earlier strictness that would not on the Sabbath day pull an ox or an ass from the pit into which they had fallen,[2] nor pluck an ear of corn[3] even to satisfy the most urgent demands of hunger, while, on the other, it imported into the day an element of gladness and festivity, which made the Sunday of primitive Christianity in many respects not unlike our own Christmas or Thanksgiving Day. What we who are native to America are most of all familiar with—its asceticism of domestic usage, its absolute prohibition not merely of amusement, but of recreation (the two are very different things) on Sunday, its dreary denial even of innocent occupations, its stern rebuke of the gayety and mirthfulness of children, its hard constriction of the domestic affections and of neighborly courtesies—by none of these characteristics were the Sundays of the first Christian centuries distinguished. A true picture of them may by anticipation be found in the pages of the New Testament itself, where Christ is found on one Sabbath day healing a paralytic, much to the disgust of a ruler of the synagogue, who roundly denounces him; or on another dining with a Pharisee and making this kindly intercourse the means of the loftiest teaching, thus expressively proclaiming that humaner law which was to govern men henceforth in their observance of all holy days, whether Sabbaths or Sundays.

It is difficult to see, looking at that law quite apart from the Being who promulgated it, how it could be improved. In many ways and in strangely different garbs have different communions or societies striven to reintroduce, as the highest type of religion and the finest flower of character, a rule of prohibitive asceticism which Christ, in his own person, once and forever dismissed. Now by seclusion, now by abstinence, and now again by vows of celibacy, of silence, of poverty, or of self-annihilation have men sought to produce those choicer fruits of conduct which have never ripened save as men have faced life and conquered it—have "used the world as not abusing it." And so it will be whether the question concern the observance of a day, the mastery of the appetites, or the enfranchisement of the will. In one word, we shall get a good Sunday in America when men learn

[1] Epistle to the Colossians, ii. 16. [2] Gospel of St. Luke, xiv. 5.
[3] Ibid., vi. 1.

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to recognize its meaning and its uses—not when we have closed all the doors which, if open, might help to teach them that lesson.

It would seem as if the door of a library were one of those doors; the door of a well-arranged and well-equipped museum another; the door of a really worthy picture-gallery still another. And for what do these exist? Is it not for their enlightening, refining, and instructive influence? In all these temples one may read history. And the story of the world and of the races that have lived in it is part of the nobler and worthier education of man. It is a part of that education which is closely allied to the highest education of all, which is his spiritual education. For in one aspect of it one cannot look at the humblest piece of human handiwork without seeing in it how patience and the painstaking study of methods and materials have married themselves in some contrivance in which the happy issue of the perfected whole is nevertheless not so interesting as the courage and ingenuity—the hard fight with manifold obstacles—that produced it. And these qualities, though they are not the finest in human nature, are among them. Courage and patience and the steadfast purpose that will not be beaten; industry, the studious questioning of the forces of nature, or the clever harnessing of them to the harder tasks of life—all these are qualities that need, undoubtedly, still other and nobler qualities to inspire and direct them. But surely it can be no incongruous thing to teach men to think, to observe, to compare—in one word, in any inferior realm of knowledge to *know;* even though they will still need supremely to be taught to know in the highest realm of all.

And this would seem to indicate that, consistently with the scrupulous observance of Sunday as a day of rest, a great assemblage of the achievements of human art and industry might wisely be made a silent school-room of the progress of human civilization. Let the Columbian Exposition proclaim by the hush of all its varied traffic and machinery—no wheel turning, no engine moving, no booth or counter open to buyer or seller, no sign or sound of business through all its long avenues,[1] and better still, by its doors closed till the morning hours of every Sunday are ended—that the American people believe in a day of rest. But if there be those who would later seek its precincts to look, it may be, more closely at the handiwork of man, to study the progress of the race in the story of its artistic and industrial

[1] This, if I am correctly informed, was the rule with the British and American exhibits in the case of the Paris Exposition.

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and mechanical achievements, and to recognize thus, it may easily be, in the study of such achievements, with Job, that "there is a spirit in man and that the inspiration of the Almighty giveth him understanding"—that certainly can be no unworthy use of some hours of our America's rest day.

And all this without reference to that alternative which, nevertheless, one cannot quite leave out of sight. There has been a very persistent effort to ridicule the idea that saloon-keepers and their like, and worse, in Chicago, would be friendly to the closing of the Exposition on Sunday, since it would force the crowds of idle strangers into their doors—either front or rear. But such ridicule is very ill-timed in view of facts that are abundantly well known as to the use that people shut out from the Exposition made of their Sunday afternoons in Philadelphia. It may indeed be urged by those who are contending for the closing of the Exposition throughout Sunday that they are not responsible for what people do with themselves so long as they keep them out of the Exposition. But it would seem as if it might with some pertinency be retorted that if they are simply devoting themselves to a work of exclusion, it would be better worth while to shut up some other doors before they troubled themselves to close those of the Exposition.

For after all, as this position of the all-day-Sunday closers implies, it is not a question of doing the best possible thing, but of doing the best practicable thing. And as to what that is there would seem to be very little doubt. The argument is constantly used, and it is one by which I must own that I have myself been greatly influenced in considering the question of particular relaxations of a stricter Sunday usage in a great city—"If you begin to make concessions you never can tell where you will stop." But there would seem to be two answers to such a proposition as that. The first obviously is, "Are the concessions demanded intrinsically reasonable and a just reaction from previous over-strictness?" We may well remember that if to-day there is in certain quarters among Americans too much disregard of Sunday, it is in part at least because once, upon the shoulders of those from whom these very Americans are descended, there was bound a burden which neither they nor their fathers were able to bear; and that the lawlessness of to-day is the logical consequence of the intolerable and unwarranted restraints of other days. A venerable ecclesiastic was once inveighing with much eloquence against what he considered undue relaxations in certain directions, and concluded by saying: "Brethren,

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there are some people who are constantly going about unscrewing things. They never can rest without loosening something here, and letting go something there, and easing up something or other wherever they get a chance. Brethren, be afraid of such people! They are of all others the most dangerous!" Said a clever and experienced mechanical engineer who listened to the philippic and who knew a little Latin: "Dear old Bishop! What a pity he did not remember the motto, '*Ne sutor ultra crepidam*'! More mischief is done by screwing things up too tight, sometimes, than was ever done by easing a bearing." And he was wiser than he knew.

And, still further and pre-eminently, it should be considered that what may be called the Christian theory of life as enunciated by Christ himself demands, most of all, as between things tolerable, permissible, and prohibited, what I may call the habit of discrimination. It does not follow, therefore, that where one makes a righteous concession he never can tell where he will stop. To know where to stop is, in one sense, of the very essence of his Christian liberty and responsibility. "I speak as unto wise men," says the apostle, "*judge ye.*" A man need not wear a Quaker coat in order to observe a decent simplicity in the matter of dress. A man need not take a monastic vow of celibacy or poverty in order to live a pure and unselfish life. He is to deal with the question of his duty to money, to society, to friendship, in accordance with the dictates of an enlightened judgment and conscience. And so he must do with the Sunday question. He has not suddenly become a godless and profane person because he differs with other equally honest and conscientious people about Sunday, or because he holds that there are inherited views as to the observance of that day which cannot by any process of ingenuity be read into the pages of the New Testament nor into any canon by which Christendom is bound either in its interpretation of that book or of the Lord's Day. Those inherited views, however dear to some of us, have just so much weight as can be gained for them from the study of the history of the origin and institution of the Christian Sunday—and no more. And if such a study makes plain to us the value of a day of rest, of worship, and no less of a cheerful and manly exercise of our Christian liberty in things indifferent in the observance of such a day, we may wisely consider whether a Sunday wisely guarded for such uses is not the best Sunday, alike for Exposition times and for all times.

HENRY C. POTTER.

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CIVIL-SERVICE REFORM: A REVIEW OF TWO ADMINISTRATIONS.

THERE is no radical evil in American government, municipal, State or national, except a wide-spread desire to "make something" out of its operations. There is bred in large classes an appetite for rendering party service solely in the hope of receiving therefor a comfortable place, or the privilege of the ground-floor of the contract system, or some other pecuniary profit. These interest themselves in politics to the extent that they control the action of the machinery of parties. That this is avoidable is true, because England is practically free from it, and yet with a government made by the method of appointments and by its limitations upon the career of any administration more democratic than our own. Our real rulers are in politics for the plunder there is in it. Any measure, like civil-service reform, which takes away the possibility of plunder reduces the evil. In our Federal Government the offices comprise the plunder; the amount at present divided is probably over sixty million dollars a year. The real object of party machines is to control this plunder. The members say little for the public ear, but among themselves this object is never absent from their thoughts and talk; and this desire acts constantly as an irresistible undertow in Federal affairs, tripping progress toward any other object when such progress endangers its realization.

This well-established reputation of the spoils system makes civil-service reform the question which should be uppermost in the American mind. Indeed, all other present questions are but routine matters of government, although occasionally a routine matter, like a question of the currency, may become of transcendent importance, for the consideration of which everything else, for the time, must be laid aside. If there were no spoils there would be party machines, but parties would be held together by other motives. There would be nothing to distract attention from the public question in hand. The full blow of a party could be delivered for or against the principle discussed. The possession of the administration would be of no use to a party except to work out its principles. The management of the

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civil service is the one peculiar field of the President. Every other duty is comparatively of minor importance; to him we must look for the cessation of the carnivals of spoil which now disgrace us.

When Mr. Cleveland became President, he seemed to hold the view that the burden of a President's work should be directed to the destruction of the spoils system. It was this that attracted particular attention to him, and his party machine nominated him because it appeared that his views in relation to administrative reform would enable him to draw more Republican votes than any other Democrat. There can be no question about this. There was dissatisfaction with Mr. Blaine among a large class of Republicans, who were at the same time, almost to a man, civil-service reformers. The Democrats took advantage of this by nominating their most pronounced civil-service reformer. In accepting the nomination for President Mr. Cleveland said:

"The selection and retention of subordinates in government employment should depend upon their ascertained fitness and the value of their work."

And as if to leave no possible ground for misunderstanding in that campaign, he said in a speech at Bridgeport:

"There should be no mistake about this contest. It is an attempt to break down the barriers of the people of the United States and of those that rule them. The people are bound down by a class of office-holders."

Mr. Cleveland's party organization distinctly maintained him in his view of the real work which was before him. In its national campaign book of 1884 it printed from the New York "*Staats-Zeitung*":

"Let there be an opportunity offered to the people for a change of parties of such a kind that the victors must give up all idea of a general distribution of offices among their adherents, and the people will joyfully agree to it."

There are good authorities, which for lack of space cannot be quoted, particularly the well-known passage in his first annual message doubting if the Government could long survive the onslaught made for a change of officers with every change of administration, that made it clear that President Cleveland expected to overthrow the spoils system in the Federal service. His repeatedly expressed views against that system were honestly held. His first fault was in entering upon a gigantic undertaking without plan. It is to be charged against him that he did not select his Cabinet officers with reference to this particular undertaking, nor did he see to it that heads of important divisions should be in sympathy with his views. Things began to take their course. One of the first encounters was when his assistant postmaster-

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general told congressmen that they did not control the offices and that their wishes would have no special weight. Ill health, unfortunately, made room for Mr. Stevenson, the present candidate for Vice-President, who eagerly became a powerful instrument in the defeat of Mr. Cleveland's purpose. That the administration had no fundamental plans for reform, but was simply drifting, soon became apparent; the pressure of which so much has been heard began, and its power from that time was made to cloak a multitude of sins.

There was an attempt at resistance. The Vilas circular providing for the removal of postmasters for offensive partisanship was curious evidence of an endeavor to divide spoil and to stick to reform. It was conclusive evidence of barrenness of resources. It was the entering wedge. An affidavit or newspaper clippings secured the removal of any fourth-class postmaster, and his place was at once given to a partisan as offensive as the displaced official. Congressmen were made superintendents of the operation, and their henchmen were the beneficiaries. By tacit consent the plan spread to other branches of the service, and under it removals got an irresistible headway, and the easy step was soon taken of making them without charges and upon the simple fact that incumbents were Republicans. This did not differ from the ordinary prostitution of the service.

Another imperfect attempt at reform was made by the rule that incumbents should serve a term of four years, and this was widely adhered to. When the terms expired, however, the places were filled on the principle of reward for party service, and the new appointees vacated and distributed the places under them on the same principle. Mr. Pearson was retained as postmaster at New York, Colonel Burt was made naval officer at the same place, and Mr. Graves was put at the head of the Bureau of Engraving and Printing. The four-years rule, together with these and many other appointments, were instances of improved administration. But they were not fundamental and unshakable foundations for reform. The immense army of claimants for office referred to by Mr. Cleveland in his first annual message laid siege to the patronage of the Government, and Mr. Cleveland slowly yielded to them. He did not invite his partisans to come and receive spoil; he gave it grudgingly. Nevertheless, he gave it, and by the end of his term a clean sweep had very nearly taken place, and it had the usual unhappy accompaniments.

The system of charges led to a greater evil. Naturally the accused wanted to know what the charge was and who made it. To tell him

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would put the principle that everything is fair in politics to a violent test in thousands of neighborhoods. The knowledge was refused, and yet the accused was removed. This was one of the most cowardly and disgraceful practices ever introduced into the operations of our Government. Secretary Whitney issued an order that politics should have nothing to do with the navy-yards, but it may be said, on the unimpeachable authority of the "Civil Service Record," edited by Mr. R. H. Dana, that Mr. Whitney, with the true Machiavellian touch, sent an agent to say that the order was not to be taken seriously—and it was not.

When Mr. Cleveland was inaugurated the management of the classified service deserved the utmost care. The civil-service law had never had a real test. Passed by Republicans when in possession of all the offices, it had gone into easy operation, and not enough Democrats to attract attention had obtained places under it. In appointing Democrats as heads of classified offices, it was inexcusable that no attention was paid to the views of the appointees regarding the reform system; and when they found out what it was, many of them became its bitter enemies and nearly all were indifferent to its success. The law was in a few offices faithfully observed, but elsewhere trickery of the law became general, of which Baltimore, Philadelphia, Milwaukee, Indianapolis, and the Patent Office afford notorious instances. Mr. Cleveland's Civil-Service Commission acted upon the principle that it could not have contests with politicians, and no aggressive stand for the law was taken. Mr. Roosevelt has since shown what could have been done. In the light of the public discussion which took place and the special complaints which were laid before Mr. Cleveland, he must be held to have been aware that the civil-service law was not being fairly enforced. Its methods were practicable and its enforcement was as easy as the enforcement of the customs law; a few sharp measures would have given the former the same enforcement as the latter. Mr. Cleveland appears to have ignored the matter. During his term he improved the rules of the classified service and added to it nineteen hundred and thirty-one places. After his defeat the railway mail service, comprising something over four thousand places, was transferred to the classified service, to take effect eleven days after the inauguration of his successor.

The bosses did not like Mr. Cleveland, but the difference was not because he wanted to distribute spoil contrary to their wishes, which was the cause of quarrel later between President Harrison and a part of his bosses, but because he all the time made them feel that he

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regarded them as engaged in a reprehensible business. Nevertheless he yielded, and the boss system under congressmen and others almost universally prevailed. It has never been carried to a more dangerous extent than it was under Gorman in Maryland. By the use of the Federal and State patronage, he practically deprived his State of free government. No amount of criminality or ignorance was a disqualification for appointment. The best Democrats in Maryland protested; and once Mr. Cleveland answered that if he opposed Mr. Gorman the latter would defeat his nominations in the Senate; and once he suggested that they get up a mass-meeting to protest against nominations which he had made at the request of Gorman. It has been customary for Mr. Cleveland's excusers to confine his shortcomings to Maryland and Indiana. There is no ground for such a stand. The prevalence of the spoils system in all its phases was general throughout the country. The civil service was used in Pennsylvania by Scott to defeat Randall, under such circumstances that it was in effect used by the President himself; and every place had its local boss through whom favors were granted. The species of blackmail by which money is wrung from government employees, either indirectly or in open violation of the law, was nearly universal. The Indianapolis Pension Agency was levied upon for six hundred dollars for the campaign of 1888, in violation of the law.

The railway mail service, which was highly efficient and, in retention but not in appointment of its employees, free from the spoils system, was attacked, and in the four years fully three-fourths of the employees were supplanted by mere party workers; and although with experience they improved, they never brought the service back to the same efficiency. The Patent Office, under a man ignorant of his duties, went the same road; then a new head was put in who checked the headlong course. The Indian service, by the efforts of the Indian Rights Association, had come to have a body of government agents and other efficient employees. There are two hundred and forty thousand wards, including forty thousand children of school age. All but half a dozen of the agents were changed for party workers; and some idea of the general saturnalia which took place may be gained from the fact that in 1887 in five hundred and sixty positions there were eleven hundred and eighty-two incumbents. After repeated protests by the Indian Rights Association, the President finally asked why they did not come to him with something practical, why they did not show him good men who would take the positions at the small sal-

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aries, or go themselves and fill them. They replied that they had shown him good men already in those positions, and that he had removed them. Later Mr. Oberly was appointed commissioner, and another check in a headlong course took place.

Mr. Cleveland's orders that office-holders should abstain from interference in politics was a radical stand for reform, but he did not enforce them. The celebrated case of his removal of two district attorneys for this cause, his reinstatement of the Democrat, and his refusal to reinstate the Republican needs no comment. He had no personal interest in the political diligence of his office-holders. Their efforts were exerted almost exclusively for their congressmen. But no use of the influence of office-holders in primaries, conventions, and elections has ever been greater or more effectual than that made by congressmen in Indiana in 1886. When it came to Mr. Cleveland's renomination, the apparent influence of office-holders was not appreciable. It should be said, however, that it is commonly reported by his friends that toward the end of his term he gave to his party a large number of offices not yet taken from Republicans, through fear that unless he did so it would not renominate him. There can be no dispute that from the time of his first tariff message he appeared indifferent toward the undertaking upon which he had voluntarily proposed to enter.

When Mr. Harrison was nominated, the agitation which had taken place under Mr. Cleveland's presidency made all points of contention relating to the civil service well marked. His nomination was accompanied in his party platform by a bold defiance of the spoils system and by a charge of treachery to civil-service reform against those reformers who should refuse to return and stand upon it. The platform promised to destroy the spoils system. The words were as follows:

"The men who abandoned the Republican party in 1884 and continue to adhere to the Democratic party have deserted not only the cause of honest government, of sound finance, of freedom or purity of the ballot, but especially have deserted the cause of reform in the civil service. We will not fail to keep our pledges because they have broken theirs or because their candidate has broken his. We therefore repeat our declaration of 1884, to wit: The reform of the civil service, auspiciously begun under Republican administration, should be completed by the further extension of the reform system already established by law to all the grades of the service to which it is applicable. The spirit and purpose of the reform should be observed in all executive appointments; and all laws at variance with the object of existing reform legislation should be repealed, to the end that the dangers to free institutions which lurk in the power of official patronage may be wisely and effectively avoided."

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In his letter of acceptance the candidate approved and accepted this platform, and he otherwise emphasized his position by saying, in answer to a question relating to the management of the civil service, that he would live up to the platform.

By the rules of reasonable expectation, the new administration was bound to enter upon the explicitly promised undertaking. It could have begun by adding all mail-carriers in free-delivery cities, all permanent post-office clerks, the internal-revenue service, the rest of the customs service, the Indian service, the weather service, and all other analogous classes of employees to the classified service. This needed but the party making these promises to give the Civil-Service Commission a few additional clerks. This start could have been followed by the complete establishment under the Civil-Service Commission of the Boston labor-service system, a system at once one of the simplest and one of the most beneficent discoveries in civil government. Postmasters of high grades could have been deprived of their functions as pernicious political centres by putting them upon the plane of officers in the railway mail service and filling vacancies by promotion. The fourth-class postmasters, by some such simple method as is set forth in Mr. Andrew's bill, should have ceased to be watch-dogs for congressmen. Every principle involved in these suggestions is in some form in successful application in Massachusetts or in the Federal service. That President Harrison understands the field of civil-service reform is shown by what he says and by what he does not say. From all that is now known, it is clear that he had the comprehension, the capacity, and the nerve to undertake the performance of his promises in relation to it. The other duties of the platform were peculiar to Congress; but from his powers under the Constitution this duty was peculiarly laid upon the President, and the enforcement of the civil-service law, which by his oath he is bound to enforce, is no performance of it.

That law gives the President power to transfer employees from the unclassified to the classified service. The order made by President Cleveland transferring the railway mail service fixed March 15, 1889, as the date. If the law was to be treated as other laws, this exhausted the presidential power as to those transferred, no matter who recommended otherwise. Mr. Lyman, then the only Civil-Service Commissioner, could not get the eligible lists ready, and recommended that the date be postponed, and President Harrison postponed it to May 1. In the six weeks which elapsed there were more than

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twenty-one hundred dismissals from this service without regard to efficiency, and the places were filled as Republican patronage. Various excuses have been given for this lawless treachery, but the god of spoil always appears grinning in the background. The real object of the changes appears in the fact that at the moment when the use of the eligible lists was to begin, and when, under any motive but that which inspires a loot, changes would have ceased, they were made so rapidly that there was not time to deliver the notices. During these six weeks the Civil-Service Commission was not filled up, but the President made hundreds of other appointments.

The "Indianapolis Journal" has doubtless reflected the President's views more correctly than any other paper. There is a close connection in the gift of the London consulship, the President's greatest pecuniary gift, to the "Journal's" chief owner, and in the transfer of its former editor to be his private secretary. The "Journal" at the time stated, in effect, that the appointment of Mr. Clarkson as first assistant postmaster-general was made because he was deemed the fittest man to divide the fourth-class postmasterships among the Republicans. The appointee completely justified the expectation and has permanently earned the title of "Headsman." Working at the rate of one every three minutes, he changed thirty thousand in a single year. He did it exultingly and in the face of public denunciation. During his first months he is said to have answered over one hundred thousand letters and to have had fifteen thousand personal interviews relating to office-seeking. Out of about sixty thousand fourth-class postmasters, nearly all have been changed whose places were desired by Republican office-seekers. In five months there were thirteen thousand changes, while during the same period under President Cleveland there were four thousand. No one has attempted to reconcile this action with the platform or to make any excuse, probably for the reason that the impossible is not expected.

In the mean time, in other directions the President was in the full tide of a clean sweep with all of the unmanly and vicious accompaniments. Presidential postmasters, collectors, marshals, the foreign service, and all other departments received his indefatigable attention. Cabinet officers were so busy making removals and appointments that they had no time to attend to other business. The four-years rule of Mr. Cleveland was swept away. The President's eagerness made him descend to littleness. He wrote to General Manson, an Indiana collector and an efficient and highly esteemed officer, whose

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term had not expired, a certain gentleman "informed me that you had said to him that you would address me a letter relieving me of a possible embarrassment connected with a change in the collector's office held by you," and in this manner forced him out of office. His removals of Naval Officer Burt and Collector Saltonstall are only emphatic instances of a multitude of cases in which he mocked at his words that only the interests of the public service should suggest removals. His refusal to retain Pearson, Graves, and General Corse, and his appointment in their places of Republican partisans, were an equally emphatic mockery of his words that fitness and not party service should be the essential and discriminating test of appointments. Although in the Senate he had fitly denounced Mr. Cleveland's system of removals upon secret charges, yet he has the same system in open operation. He divided a valuable block of offices among his relatives by blood or marriage, commencing with his brother as a marshal in Tennessee, an appointment of which the fruit was gath red in the management by this appointee of the Tennessee delegation at the Minneapolis convention. A striking fact is the number and the value of the places given to the delegates who worked for the President's first nomination. The consulship at London, the United States treasurership, the Belgium mission, and the offices of marshal and district attorney of Indiana are instances. It is notorious that Senators Cullom and Farwell, who opposed the nomination, were refused the patronage of Illinois. The subordinates found in office by the appointees of the administration were ruthlessly displaced. The motive was exactly stated by the New Albany postmaster, who said, when dismissing his carriers: "You have done your work well. You are gentlemen, but you know, boys, you are Democrats."

The President appears to have had a carefully planned boss system, and to have been ready to turn the full power of the civil service to accomplish objects desirable to him. The first notorious example was Mahone. In June, 1889, the struggle between Mahone and his opponents for the Virginia patronage was won by Mahone, and its unlimited use was turned over to him, to enable his Republican faction to carry the coming State election, and for that purpose he used it to the fullest extent. In Pennsylvania there was at first a struggle between Quay and certain other congressmen, which resulted in the complete triumph of Quay, Wanamaker declaring for him against Dalzell as early as 1889, and no patronage was granted except through him. Quay's power was shown in the appointment of David Martin;

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the President could descend no further. The use for which the patronage was granted Quay is illustrated by his remark that "the Pittsburg post-office embraces about three hundred appointments, which, to put it mildly, I decline to have placed in the hands of my adversaries." Quay is also credited with having discovered Mr. Wanamaker. Cabinet officers have usually been chosen because they were party leaders. Wanamaker was not a party leader. In his case we have the first instance of the gift of a Cabinet office because the donee had raised a large campaign fund; for there is no other way of accounting for this appointment. In that campaign large amounts of money were used to purchase votes, from twenty to thirty thousand being for sale in Indiana alone. The power of Platt as a boss in New York culminated when Mr. Erhardt was forced out of the collector's office, which was rendered untenable by him for refusing to appoint Platt's men.

The Census Bureau was to have some fifty thousand employees, including twelve hundred clerks. The faithfulness required in the work needs no statement; to be accurate, it must be absolutely free from the horde that live upon party spoil. It was practicable to make the appointments competitive and to keep them free from partisan influence; yet the President refused to allow the Civil-Service Commission to apply the merit system to even the twelve hundred clerks, and the whole fifty thousand places were in general distributed according to the worst methods of the spoils system, Superintendent Porter describing himself as "waist-deep in congressmen," with a resulting census in which the confidence of the country is shaken. In these and other ways President Harrison, instead of being a leader in the fulfilment of the promises upon which he was elected, became a leader of the worst elements of his party in a prostitution of the civil service in a manner which has greatly increased instead of diminishing the dangers to free institutions which lurk in the power of official patronage. He did not wait for "pressure." There is nowhere in his career a sign that he has acted with reluctance; but, on the other hand, the evidence is conclusive that he has been a willing leader with a purpose to use the full power of the Federal patronage to accomplish, first, personal, and, secondly, party ends.

One of the first steps in this calculation was the distribution of offices among newspapers. To the "New York Tribune," the "Cincinnati Commercial Gazette," the "Indianapolis Journal," the "New

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York Press," the "North American Review," the "Utica Herald," the "Worcester Spy," the "Iowa State Register," the "Detroit Tribune," and a host of other papers, great and small, throughout the country, the President gave a large share of the vast bounty he was distributing, and it was accepted. That it does not take away their independence and bind them to Benjamin Harrison personally can be argued, but no conviction will result. Other Presidents have given offices to newspapers, but never before has a large number of the great journals of the country been in effect subsidized. With this and other like measures, such as the appointment of Elkins to be Secretary of War, with the undoubted object of detaching him from Mr. Blaine, the presidential course is thickly marked.

It cannot be said of President Harrison that he was the sole cause of the last Indian war, but it can be said that with his eyes wide open he laid on the last straw. In the Indian Rights Association he was offered and could have had a safe and disinterested adviser, but he rejected the offer. It urged with all its force that for the sake of the Indians the merit system should be established, and that officials who had learned their duties and were faithful to them should not be removed. The President disregarded the association. He set up the doctrine of home rule, which required the employees to be taken, not from Republican favorites throughout the country, but from Republican favorites in the sparsely settled territory in which a reservation happened to be located, and these appointees turned out to be the most conscienceless type of henchmen. Their real business is briefly shown in the fact that at one agency the agent and all of the employees were at one time absent doing political work for the senator who had secured them their places. And at the Yankton agency, having eighteen hundred persons, in 1891, men, women, and children were lying sick everywhere. For three weeks they were without medical attendance. The wife of a missionary writes: "During this time the medical man sent here by the department has been in Pierre engaged in political work." When the outbreak took place a number of agents at once had to be supplanted by army officers. In one encounter we succeeded in killing eighty-five men, women, and children who had firm ground of complaint against us. Then President Harrison transferred some seven hundred places in the Indian service to the classified service. This did not include clerks and other employees, among whom the peculiar viciousness of the spoils system in this service is most concentrated.

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At Mr. Harrison's inauguration the classified service embraced thirty-two thousand places, and the Civil-Service Commission was composed of but one member. The seizure of the twenty-one hundred places in the railway mail service took place as already described, and on May 6, 1889, six days after that was over, he filled up the Civil-Service Commission by the appointment of Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Thompson. This commission has at all times thoroughly understood its duty and has performed it with a fearlessness that deserves the admiration of the country. The President paid no attention to securing heads of the classified offices who were friendly to the law, and the first struggle of the commission was to convince appointees that the law must be obeyed. It many times publicly gave notice that the examinations would be impartial, and invited members of all parties to compete. It established confidence in the law in the South, and so far as examinations and appointments are concerned the law is enforced. The dismissals for political reasons have not been widespread, but the law is open to the same trickery that occurred under President Cleveland, and with a weaker commission those who know some of the heads of the classified offices would look in those cases for a repetition of that trickery. The action of Secretary Tracy in applying the Boston labor-service system to the navy-yards is an extensive degree of improved administration of the same nature as the appointment of Mr. Graves by President Cleveland, but it is not fundamental reform. It is reform with a string tied to it. Treatment as spoil may be resumed at any moment. The President, as though he could not bear to put it beyond his reach, has neither taken nor recommended any steps to make this reform permanent.

The enforcement of the law relating to the collection of money from public employees has obviously not had the sympathy of the President. Indirect blackmailing by campaign committees goes on steadily and too publicly not to be known by him. He has not by any expression relieved public employees from fear of the consequences of refusal. He has shown no interest in the punishment of detected offenders. Mahone's committee clearly violated the law. The President knows this, although a jury acquitted them; yet he keeps them in the public employ. One has but to read the testimony taken by Mr. Roosevelt in Baltimore to see that his recommendation that twenty-five employees be dismissed for raising money unlawfully or for other stated reasons was mild. Yet no one was dismissed or punished. Mr. Wanamaker sent a couple of his inspectors, who made a

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new investigation and reported that the accused had not told the truth in their answers to Mr. Roosevelt, and therefore were not guilty. Mr. Wanamaker is distinguished from the rest of the world by being satisfied with this report. Federal employees in Kentucky, indicted but not tried for unlawful solicitation of money, have since, it is said, been promoted. A resolution unanimously adopted last April by the Alabama Republican State Convention denounced "the wilful, open, and flagrant violation of the civil-service law and rules by office-holders of this State in the levying of assessments upon mail clerks, mail carriers, route agents, deputies, and employees under the civil-service rules for political and corrupt purposes, in the bribery and attempting to bribe the Republican electors of this State in primaries and conventions, in the forcing and driving of those under them into the support of Dr. Moseley for the chairmanship of the State committee by threats of removal from office." No one has been punished. The Moseleyites afterward appeared at Minneapolis with a Harrison delegation containing twelve Federal office-holders.

For more than two years after his inauguration no additions were made by President Harrison to the classified service; then upon the heels of an Indian war, and after an amount of urging, the necessity of which seems incredible, considering the direct promise to make such extensions, he caused, as stated above, seven hundred places in the Indian service to be classified. Later he caused the employees of the Fish Commission, one hundred and thirty-two in number, to be classified. He has caused an efficiency record to be kept in classified offices, and made the rule that promotions therein shall be based upon merit. The contemptible size of this contribution to the extension of the reform system established by law becomes apparent when it is compared with the many thousands of carriers, clerks, and other employees to whom that system is applicable and whom it does not embrace. The service has many more employees capable of classification, but unclassified, than it had when the President was inaugurated.

No check has been placed by President Harrison upon Federal office-holders making their influence felt in primaries, conventions, and elections. His distribution of the hundred odd thousand places bears all the marks of being directed to the utmost extent to the formation of an army of feudatories, and this army has responded to the President's evident expectation with such efforts as it never under any President put forth before. The marshal of the District of Columbia is an interesting example. He is an intimate friend of the

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President, and his appearance at any given point at a critical time in party matters is but the appearance of the President himself.

When, some months before the Minneapolis convention, Mr. Blaine gave notice that he did not desire the nomination, the candidacy of the President was unopposed by any competitor of prominence. There had been, however, all along a smouldering opposition to it, which he watched with care. In Indiana there were places where it was impossible for him to obtain delegates without incessant effort by his official feudatories, and this effort was put forth, beginning with the earliest primaries. It was felt in every party gathering that could possibly have an influence upon the selection of Harrison delegates. To this end forty leading Federal office-holders, to say nothing of the smaller, helped to manage the Indiana State convention in 1890. Paid officials with leisure to gather in their friends can, with rare exceptions, control the action of primaries and conventions. It was so in this case. By unremitted effort kept up through a long series of party meetings of every kind, the Indiana office-holders with some outside help, which in part has already been rewarded with office, secured every delegate for the President.

The same care, but not always with the same final result, was exercised throughout a great part of the United States. In the Republican State convention in Iowa in 1891 more than sixty-two Federal office-holders were delegates. From various causes arising over the division of spoil, Quay, Clarkson, Platt, and a large number of smaller bosses became dissatisfied with the President and determined to defeat his renomination. They induced Mr. Blaine to allow, after all, the use of his name. The Federal office-holding machine had been too carefully constructed, and with the President at the head it proved irresistible. The consul-general at London crossed the ocean to take command in the field. After conferring with the President, members of the Cabinet, and other chief office-holders at Washington, he went to Minneapolis to lead the President's forces there. The land commissioner was his most efficient aid. The President had one hundred and forty-two office-holders voting as delegates in the convention. Several thousand other office-holders were at hand, bearing down opposition. He had two wires connecting him with his managers, and through these he personally directed operations. He was not nominated by the States giving Republican majorities, but by the States whose delegates, in some cases, were in charge of men like the President's brother, the Tennessee marshal, or under the roughly asserted

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control of some other Federal office-holder. In the Georgia delegation twenty-two out of the twenty-six were reported to be office-holders. It was a desperate struggle, and the result proved the skill of the President in the effort which he appears to have steadily made since his inauguration to secure renomination by a judicious distribution of spoil. His consummate skill is evident when it is considered that he succeeded in spite of a gigantic rebellion of bosses. The result is also a startling proof of the reasonableness of the fear expressed in the Republican platform of the dangers to free institutions arising from the power of official patronage.

I have endeavored in this investigation not to mitigate the facts, and I believe that from the facts as given the two administrations may be correctly judged. As to the motives controlling the action of the Presidents, the judgment of most readers will be heavily in favor of Mr. Cleveland. Excuses are offered in certain quarters that if Mr. Cleveland had taken a different course he would have disrupted his party. A party that has to be held together by patronage had better be disrupted. I have never heard of any excuse offered for President Harrison. These are not, however, matters for excuse. It was a just and fortunate result of the election of 1888 that punishment followed swiftly upon the heels of unnecessary failure. Whatever may be said to the contrary, by no shaping of issues in that election could a ratification of the management of the civil service, which constituted that failure, have been secured. A like duty to secure the defeat of the re-election of President Harrison is now at hand. The country cannot afford to ratify the acts of those who wilfully bring upon it the dangers to its free institutions which lurk in the power of official patronage. Parties and Presidents should understand that sure defeat is in store for such. Mr. Cleveland should not be elected because he is less censurable than President Harrison, but for the reason that the course here indicated is the way to crush the patronage system.

LUCIUS B. SWIFT.

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CIVIL-SERVICE REFORM: A DECADE OF THE MERIT SYSTEM.

It is said that the average American citizen has one month's earnings out of the year taken from him by force for the support of the state. Upon him falls the heaviest burden of waste and misrule. Pure and honest government can be secured only by an efficient and economical public service. The new system for this purpose has been applied within a decade broadly enough, in the State, Federal, and municipal service, fairly to test its merits. In the Federal service there are 175,884 places, and the annual appropriation has exceeded five hundred millions. The municipal service has, probably, as many places as the Federal, and besides there is the service of forty-four States. What constructive and educational utility has the merit system developed? Is it destined ultimately to regulate this entire service?

As early as 1853 and 1855 the patronage system of appointments based on the recommendations of politicians and members of Congress was found to engender intolerable abuses, and examinations which only partisan favorites could take were established for admission into the public service in the departments at Washington. While useful to a degree, they failed to remedy the evils at which they were aimed, as they had before failed in Great Britain. Hon. Thomas A. Jenckes, of Rhode Island, put the reform sentiment into a bill which he introduced into the House of Representatives in 1868. It failed, probably because public sentiment had not been sufficiently awakened for such a measure, and because its provisions were radical and sweeping in their details. In his annual message of 1870, President Grant recommended legislation, and a commission was established in 1871, of which Mr. George William Curtis was chairman. He was shortly succeeded by Mr. Dorman B. Eaton, who continued in that capacity until the establishment of the present commission, in 1883. An appropriation was made by Congress during two years for carrying the law into effect. Competitive examinations were enforced under rules applying to promotions as well as to original admissions. President Grant said, in a

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message of April 18, 1874, that the enforcement of the rules had "resulted beneficially, as is shown by the opinions of the members of the Cabinet and their subordinates in the departments." In the same year he recommended that an appropriation of twenty-five thousand dollars be made to continue the system. It was refused, competitive examinations were suspended, and patronage again flourished.

In 1877, and again in 1879, President Hayes requested Congress to make the necessary appropriations for the resumption of the work. The request was renewed by President Arthur in 1882. The success of the rules of 1872 led to rules promulgated by President Hayes under which competitive examinations were enforced at the New York custom-house and post-office. In 1880 the President strongly commended them to Congress. The present act "to regulate and improve the civil service of the United States" passed the Senate on December 28, 1882, with only five dissenting votes; and on January 5, 1883, it passed the House of Representatives by a vote of 155 to 47, and became a law on January 16, 1883. The assassination of President Garfield gave impulse to the public sentiment in response to which the action was taken by Congress. Four months after its passage a similar law was passed by a Democratic legislature in New York and, a year afterward, by a Republican legislature in Massachusetts.

The broad aims of the reform are to take out of political contests all inducement to office-seeking, to restore and preserve the independence of the legislative and executive departments, which the Constitution was careful to keep distinct, and to establish a process by which the offices shall be filled upon tests of merit, and not left to the weakness of human virtue subjected to the temptations of power and place. If voters are uninfluenced by the loss or gain of an office or promotion, there will be freedom for the play of conviction, making elections freer from selfish partisan ends. The single idea of the reform is that the offices are trusts for the people. The Federal system, upon which the State and municipal systems are patterned, is lodged in the hands of three commissioners of equal rank and authority appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate. The commission differs from that under President Grant in that the act of 1883 distinctly creates the offices of the commissioners, defines their duty, and prescribes their salary. The act makes it the duty of the commission to aid the President as the chief appointing officer in preparing suitable rules for carrying the act into effect; to make regulations for and to control the examinations provided for and keep records of them; and to make

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investigations and report upon all matters touching the enforcement and effect of the rules and regulations. The law and the rules prohibit the use of "official authority or influence to coerce the political action of any person or body," and the law makes penal the levying of political assessments.

The act provides for "open, competitive examinations for testing the fitness of applicants . . . ," and declares that "such examinations shall be practical in their character, and so far as may be shall relate to those matters which will fairly test the relative capacity and fitness of the persons examined to discharge the duties of the service into which they seek to be appointed." As the qualifications needed are various, the competition is between all those who seek the same class of places. The act further provides that appointments to the service at Washington shall be apportioned among the States according to population. This provision stimulates education in the States and increases local interest in all matters affecting the Federal administration.

The business test of fitness submitted to the appointing officer when he is about to make a selection from among the three standing highest-certified for each vacancy in the Federal, State, and municipal service may be briefly divided into: 1. Qualities, experience, and personal history as brought out by carefully devised questions of wide scope in an application paper. 2. Reputation as shown in testimonials in answer to searching questions. 3. Physical tests, where necessary, as for railway mail-clerks, letter-carriers, firemen, watchmen, and policemen. 4. General intelligence and force (which are of more value than experience), exhibited in a written examination. Success in this test is a proof of mental power, showing that the candidate will readily learn and perform all ordinary duties and that he is equipped for emergencies. 5. Practical tests for places of technical skill. Finally, there is a probationary test of six months in doing the public work, to show that the man has tact, judgment, and industrious habits. This trial tests the careful performance of work, conduct, attendance, prompt and cheerful service, mental vigor, sound bodily health, adaptability, ability to perform services of a special nature, and capacity for promotion. The examination so thoroughly probes and exposes weak points that it deters many incompetents from attempting it at all. The adequacy of the examinations and their practical and common-sense character are shown by the trifling percentage of failures on the probationary test. Business ability and attainments are very

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closely allied, and the best informed are generally the most trustworthy and successful.

In the outset the system of competitive examinations was made broad enough fairly to test its merits. The law provides for the extension of the service, in the discretion of the President, without the need of further action by Congress, as success points the way. In the departments at Washington the classification existing under the laws of 1853 and 1855 included all persons receiving salaries of not less than nine hundred dollars or more than eighteen hundred dollars per annum, about 5,652 in number, and this was considered as embracing a suitable field for the first examinations in that branch of the service. Like classifications were made of the customs and postal service, which the act required to be brought in the first instance under the rules.

The number of persons that were thus classified in the customs service at the eleven ports was in all 2,573. The classification of those in post-offices embraced all below the postmaster, not including any person employed merely as a laborer or workman. The whole number of places classified at the twenty-three post-offices was 5,699. In the three branches of the classified service, therefore, the number of places to be filled by competitive examination was in the aggregate 13,924. Certain of the places are excepted from examination by the civil-service rules, and may be filled, in the discretion of the appointing officers, without examination. A few other places may be filled by non-competitive examination, the appointing officer nominating the person to be examined, the commission determining the character of and conducting the examination; but the great mass of the places are filled by competitive examination.

A system of rules, as required by the act, was promulgated by President Arthur, classifications were made by the heads of departments, examinations were held at all the classified custom-houses and post-offices and elsewhere throughout the country, and upon July 16, 1883, the law and the rules were in effective operation. At the end of the first year the commission stated that in every stage of its work it had had the constant and unwavering support of the President. President Arthur, in a message in 1884, expressing the views of every member of the Cabinet, congratulated the country upon the success of the labors of the commission, and avowed his conviction that the system would prove to be of still more signal benefit to the public service. In November, 1883, the President, in a rule, forbade the choice among

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eligible candidates to be made for political or religious reasons. During 1884 four additional post-offices were classified.

A committee of Congress, composed of eight Democrats and five Republicans, in June, 1884, made a unanimous report in which it declared itself "entirely satisfied with the thorough, conscientious, and non-partisan work of the commission," and added that the continuance of its work would in a large degree aid in eradicating the prevalent evils in the civil service. In March, 1885, Congress voted an increase of clerical force for the commission. To the close of the administration of President Arthur, within the fourteen thousand places classified, the law was honestly enforced in letter and in spirit and the sphere of its application was extended.

In the second year the system, which was almost entirely new, was subjected to the severest test of its vitality. A party which had been out of power for twenty-four years refused to treat the New York custom-house and post-office as party spoils. The Democratic collector was compelled to resign his office when it became evident that partisan removals were being made, and the Republican postmaster was retained because of his business efficiency. The explanations and controversies of the first two years had to be gone all over again with a new set of officials. Notwithstanding the change of power and the fact that the new party had been out of control of the offices for a quarter of a century, the system was completely enforced and the number of places subject to it nearly doubled, the whole number of places growing to about 27,300. In 1886, the third year, direct assaults to annul the law failed in both houses of Congress. Several reform measures failed by negative conduct.

In March, 1886, transmitting a report of the commission to Congress, President Cleveland commended the cause to its liberal care and jealous protection. He said that the scheme for a reform in the methods of administering the Government was no longer an experiment; that wherever the reform had gained a foothold it had steadily advanced in the esteem of those charged with public administrative duties, while the people who desired good government had constantly been confirmed in their high estimate of its value and efficiency. July 14, 1886, he issued a circular warning the employees of the Government against obtrusive partisanship, manipulation of party conventions, and all dictation of party action. In 1887 a system of compulsory examinations for promotion was directed by the President and applied at the War Department and at the New York custom-

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house. Selections were permitted from the whole eligible list. The compulsory feature was designed to awaken industry, discover incompetency and ignorance, and stimulate the duty of removal. This feature was dropped by President Harrison in 1891 upon the recommendation of the commission and voluntary competition was substituted.

In 1888 the classifications of the departments at Washington were revised by order of President Cleveland to include all persons within the limits specified by the law, adding 1,931 places. The railway mail service was classified December 31, 1888. On January 4, 1889, rules for that service were promulgated, to take effect March 15, 1889. On March 11, 1889, their operation was postponed to May 1, 1889. The rules took effect on that date and brought in 5,320 places. March 1, 1888, a revision of the rules was made, removing wholly the maximum age limitation except for letter-carriers and one or two other classes, reducing the number to be included in a single certification from four to three, raising the minimum eligible average from sixty-five to seventy, except for soldiers and sailors preferred under section 1754, Revised Statutes, and securing more effectually the rights of such preference claimants. During the administration of President Cleveland the classified postal service was extended to sixteen additional post-offices.

In 1886, 1887, 1888, and in February, 1889, Congress voted an increase of appropriation for the commission. At the end of a year from the change of administration only about eight per cent of the departmental clerks appointed in the Democratic administration resigned or were removed, a little larger percentage than during the first year of President Cleveland's administration. On June 18, 1889, the rules were amended to permit the reinstatement to the service of veterans of the Civil War without regard to the length of time they had been out, the limit having previously been one year for all persons. A regulation was made, having a very beneficial effect, opening the lists of eligibles to all persons, to show that the examinations were free from fraud and that no undue discrimination was made in selections for appointment.

On April 13, 1891, the President classified the educational branch of the Indian service, bringing in about seven hundred employees. It is especially important that appointments in that service should be non-partisan, and examinations are particularly appropriate for it. The Secretary of the Navy, by an order of August 1, 1891, introduced the reform into the skilled and unskilled labor system of the navy-

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yards, shutting out all political considerations and making employment depend alone upon the skill and efficiency of the workmen. Commodore Folger estimates the reduction in the cost of labor on guns since the introduction of the new system, in 1888, at forty-eight per cent on 6-inch breech-loading rifles, fifty per cent on 10-inch breech-loading rifles, and sixty per cent on 6-inch breech-loading rifle carriages. The reduction in the time of manufacture is shown by the fact that 10-inch breech-loading rifled guns which it took three hundred days to complete two years ago can now be completed in ninety-five days, and the smaller guns with a proportionately equal economy of time. A Democratic chairman has unanimously reported from his committee a bill to extend the same principles to all departments of the Government, and, with only one dissenting vote, a similar bill applying to fourth-class postmasters. The Postmaster-General has adopted a system of competitive examinations for promotion in his department and in the classified post-offices. Under an order of the President of December 4, 1891, records of efficiency are kept in each department; in some of them examinations for promotion are being held, and this will no doubt be done in all of them. Wise regulations for promotion, judiciously administered, will have far-reaching and beneficial results. They are a necessary complement to those for original admissions. A provision allowing promotions in the departments in certain limited cases from the unclassified to the classified service was dropped from the rules. On May 5, 1892, the Fish Commission, which has about one hundred and forty employees, was classified. Since the administration of President Harrison began, nine post-offices, including fifty employees, have been classified. In July, 1889, Congress gave the commission five additional clerks.

In the departmental service, in the year ended June 30, 1891, only thirty-three were removed of the four thousand persons appointed since the examinations began. In the customs service, counting both removals and resignations, the changes are about ten per cent of the classified force in a year, and taking the New York custom-house alone, five per cent. With each change of administration the railway mail service was subject to wholesale removals, amounting in two instances to nearly half of the whole number of employees. In the year ended June 30, 1889, the percentage of probationary appointees who failed to pass the final examination was 35.72. In 1891, under the new system, the percentage, including this class and also those removed during probation, was only 6.33; and since the introduction

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of a physical test, in 1891, the proportion of inefficient probationers has become still smaller. As the law facilitates the just exercise of the power of removal, it is obvious that a much more satisfactory set of employees has been supplied and the efficiency of the service has been correspondingly increased. These figures sufficiently illustrate the bad character of the appointments under the patronage system. Figures might be quoted to show that in the New York post-office alone the adoption of the merit system has made a saving of at least three hundred thousand dollars a year. It can be shown statistically that competition generally brings to the top the best practical men.

The classified service since 1883 has grown from fourteen thousand places to thirty-four thousand. It embraces nearly ten thousand places in the departments at Washington; more than three-fourths of the customs officials of the country, collecting ninety-four per cent of the customs revenue; more than three-fourths of all the officials below postmasters at the sixty-five thousand post-offices of the Union, the railway mail service, and the Indian school service, including altogether one-half the service in importance and in the amount of salaries paid. One-fifth of the whole number of Federal places, much the most important, for which examinations are appropriate, are thus removed from the partisan system.

The commission has had to spend much time in making explanations to the friends of applicants interfering in their behalf. With lack of information by the public there was suspicion and distrust. These explanations are made embarrassing by misrepresentations on the part of applicants and by the misconceptions inevitable in the establishment of a new system. The commission invariably deals directly with the applicants themselves, and as its methods have become better understood the persistent reliance upon favoritism is ceasing. Fraud on the part of applicants is rarely attempted, and its immediate discovery would be almost certain. Every such case is rigorously dealt with.

Of the one hundred and twenty-five thousand persons examined, nearly two-thirds passed at an eligible grade, which is evidence that the examinations are not too severe. Of those that pass, two-fifths receive appointments, the number appointed since 1883 being more than thirty thousand. Only twelve per cent of those examined have been educated in colleges, and of these thirty-three per cent failed to pass, while of those educated in common schools thirty-seven per cent failed. Although what constitutes a common-school education is uncertain, and

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although these figures take no account of the character or difficulty of the different examinations, yet they do show that the free-school system provides sufficient advantages as a basis of qualification for the public service. The average age of those that pass is twenty-six years and of those that fail twenty-nine years, showing that an average of a dozen years of business experience is had after leaving school before taking the examinations, and that the competition depends, not upon education alone, but upon personal qualities and habits, mental, moral, and physical. The training undergone by those who take the examinations is not lost for them nor for the country in the stimulus it gives to education and to the preparation for the battle of life. All questions of personal sympathy for those who fail must be ignored in the effort to secure the very highest quality of material for the service of the people, in which the only standards are merit, duty, honor, and attainments.

A large proportion of the places are filled from examinations of a special character where the precise technical qualifications needed can be thoroughly tested. It is in this field that the practical fruits of the competitive system most strikingly appear. For places, however, where only qualifications of an ordinary clerical character are needed, the test of general intelligence and force must be based upon educational qualification. The results are greater than the friends of reform modestly hoped for. Experience shows that scholastic tests need no apologist. The expenditure of one hundred and fifty millions annually in this country for elementary public schools is for a training, at non-partisan expense, which directly prepares the youth for the public service. Is it not an injustice to the taxpayer and to the child to make education compulsory if it is not the best possible preparation for business? Shall the State ignore its own work in ascertaining the competency of its servants? The need of the service is an intelligent citizenship, and the great end of the schools is to prepare for that citizenship.

The examinations exercise, indirectly, a considerable influence on the education of the country. Sir G. O. Trevelyan said that competition in England, in its influence upon national education, was equivalent to one hundred thousand scholarships and exhibitions of the most valuable kind. Tests are not applied which cannot be met by the usual educational facilities of any part of the country. The general lines of education in schools and colleges are followed, and the methods are expressly calculated to encourage sound preparation.

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The training is such as to render the unsuccessful candidate none the less fit for any other profession. Education in the schools is a basis, but not a complete preparation for the training required for the civil service. It does not occur to the public mind that the evolution of government is dependent upon executive efficiency, that an immense economy in the management and instruction of employees and in the use of time and material, and a vastly greater degree of progress, are secured through a trained and experienced chief. The mischief and waste caused by uninstructed officials, the absurdities and red-tape of public business, are accepted as inevitable. The public sense has been seared by half a century of the spoils system. The influence of officials of high character, honor, and fidelity to trusts, trained in economics, politics, and the duties of public office, would be incalculable. Such officials would exert a highly beneficial influence, not only throughout the service, but on the public. The appointment of Indian agents from officers of the army in some conspicuous instances has had a most salutary effect, recognized in legislation, in marked contrast with some occasional instances where partisan appointments have been made from civil life.

From its inception the system has had the cordial approval and support of the heads of offices subject to it, and the volume of sympathy has grown with experience in its enforcement. The system is supported by those whose means of information are the best. The introduction of correct principles has wrought a vast improvement in the character of the service and in raising the public estimate of official life.

JOHN T. DOYLE.

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HULL HOUSE, CHICAGO: AN EFFORT TOWARD SOCIAL DEMOCRACY.

HULL HOUSE, Chicago's first Social Settlement, was established in September, 1889. It represented no association, but was opened by two women, supported by many friends, in the belief that the mere foothold of a house, easily accessible, ample in space, hospitable and tolerant in spirit, situated in the midst of the large foreign colonies which so easily isolate themselves in American cities, would be in itself a serviceable thing for Chicago. It represents an attempt to make social intercourse express the growing sense of the economic unity of society, to add the social function to democracy. It was opened in the theory that the dependence of classes on each other is reciprocal, and that "as the social relation is essentially a reciprocal relation, it gives a form of expression that has peculiar value."

Hull House stands on South Halsted Street, next door to the corner of Polk. South Halsted Street is thirty-two miles long and one of the great thoroughfares of Chicago. Polk Street crosses Halsted midway between the stock-yards to the south and the ship-building yards on the north branch of the Chicago River. For the six miles between these two dignified industries the street is lined with shops of butchers and grocers, with dingy and gorgeous saloons, and pretentious establishments for the sale of ready-made clothing. Polk Street, running west from Halsted Street, grows rapidly more respectable; running a mile east to State Street, it grows steadily worse and crosses a net-work of gilded vice on the corners of Clark Street and Fourth Avenue.

Hull House is an ample old residence, well built and somewhat ornately decorated after the manner of its time, 1856. It has been used for many purposes, and although battered by its vicissitudes, it is essentially sound and has responded kindly to repairs and careful furnishing. Its wide hall and open fires always insure it a gracious aspect. It once stood in the suburbs, but the city has steadily grown up around it and its site now has corners on three or four distinct foreign colonies. Between Halsted Street and the river live about ten

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thousand Italians: Neapolitans, Sicilians, and Calabrians, with an occasional Lombard or Venetian. To the south on Twelfth Street are many Germans, and side streets are given over almost entirely to Polish and Russian Jews. Further south, these Jewish colonies merge into a huge Bohemian colony, so vast that Chicago ranks as the third Bohemian city in the world. To the northwest are many Canadian-French, clannish in spite of their long residence in America, and to the north are many Irish and first-generation Americans. On the streets directly west and farther north are well-to-do English-speaking families, many of whom own their houses and have lived in the neighborhood for years. I know one man who is still living in his old farm-house. This corner of Polk and Halsted Streets is in the fourteenth precinct of the nineteenth ward. This ward has a population of about fifty thousand, and at the last presidential election registered 7,072 voters. It has had no unusual political scandal connected with it, but its aldermen are generally saloon-keepers and its political manipulations are those to be found in the crowded wards where the activities of the petty politician are unchecked.

The policy of the public authorities of never taking an initiative and always waiting to be urged to do their duty is fatal in a ward where there is no initiative among the citizens. The idea underlying our self-government breaks down in such a ward. The streets are inexpressibly dirty, the number of schools inadequate, factory legislation unenforced, the street-lighting bad, the paving miserable and altogether lacking in the alleys and smaller streets, and the stables defy all laws of sanitation. Hundreds of houses are unconnected with the street sewer. The older and richer inhabitants seem anxious to move away as rapidly as they can afford it. They make room for newly arrived emigrants who are densely ignorant of civic duties. This substitution of the older inhabitants is accomplished also industrially in the south and east quarters of the ward. The Hebrews and Italians do the finishing for the great clothing-manufacturers formerly done by Americans, Irish, and Germans, who refused to submit to the extremely low prices to which the sweating system has reduced their successors. As the design of the sweating system is the elimination of rent from the manufacture of clothing, the "outside work" is begun after the clothing leaves the cutter. For this work no basement is too dark, no stable loft too foul, no rear shanty too provisional, no tenement room too small, as these conditions imply low rental. Hence these shops abound in the worst of the for-

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eign districts, where the sweater easily finds his cheap basement and his home finishers. There is a constant tendency to employ school-children, as much of the home and shop work can easily be done by children. The houses of the ward, for the most part wooden, were originally built for one family and are now occupied by several. They are after the type of the inconvenient frame cottages found in the poorer suburbs twenty years ago. Many of them were built where they now stand; others were brought thither on rollers, because their previous site had been taken for a factory. The fewer brick tenement buildings which are three or four stories high are comparatively new. There are few huge and foul tenements. The little wooden houses have a temporary aspect, and for this reason, perhaps, the tenement-house legislation in Chicago is totally inadequate. Back tenements flourish; many houses have no water supply save the faucet in the back yard; there are no fire escapes; the garbage and ashes are placed in wooden boxes which are fastened to the street pavements. One of the most discouraging features about the present system of tenement houses is that many of them are owned by sordid and ignorant immigrants.

The theory that wealth brings responsibility, that possession entails at length education and refinement, in these cases fails utterly. The children of an Italian immigrant owner do not go to school and are no improvement on their parents. His wife picks rags from the street gutter and laboriously sorts them in a dingy court. Wealth may do something for her self-complacency and feeling of consequence; it certainly does nothing for her comfort or her children's improvement nor for the cleanliness of any one concerned. Another thing that prevents better houses in Chicago is the tentative attitude of the real-estate men. Many unsavory conditions are allowed to continue which would be regarded with horror if they were considered permanent. Meanwhile, the wretched conditions persist until at least two generations of children have been born and reared in them. Our ward contains two hundred and fifty-five saloons; our own precinct boasts of eight, and the one directly north of us twenty. This allows one saloon to every twenty-eight voters, and there is no doubt that the saloon is the centre of the liveliest political and social life in the ward. The leases and fixtures of these saloons are, in the majority of cases, owned by the wholesale liquor houses, and the saloon-keeper himself is often a bankrupt. There are seven churches and two missions in the ward. All of these are small and somewhat struggling, save the

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large Catholic church connected with the Jesuit College on the south boundary of the ward and the French Catholic church on the west boundary. There are but three out of these nine religious centres in which the service is habitually conducted in English. There are seven Catholic parochial schools in the ward, accommodating 6,244 children; three Protestant schools care for 141 children. A fine manual-training school sustained by the Hebrews is found in the seventh ward just south of us. In the same ward is the receiving shelter for the Jewish refugees.

This site for a Settlement was selected in the first instance because of its diversity and the variety of activity for which it presented an opportunity. It has been the aim of the residents to respond to all sides of the neighborhood life: not to the poor people alone, nor to the well-to-do, nor to the young in contradistinction to the old, but to the neighborhood as a whole, "men, women, and children taken in families as the Lord mixes them." The activities of Hull House divide themselves into four, possibly more lines. They are not formally or consciously thus divided, but broadly separate according to the receptivity of the neighbors. They might be designated as the social, educational, and humanitarian. I have added civic—if indeed a settlement of women can be said to perform civic duties. These activities spring from no preconceived notion of what a Social Settlement should be, but have increased gradually on demand. In describing these activities and their value to the neighborhood, I shall attempt to identify those people who respond to each form.

A Settlement which regards social intercourse as the terms of its expression logically brings to its aid all those adjuncts which have been found by experience to free social life. It casts aside nothing which the cultivated man regards as good and suggestive of participation in the best life of the past. It ignores none of the surroundings which one associates with a life of simple refinement. The amount of luxury which an individual indulges in is a thing which has to be determined by each for himself. It must always be a relative thing. The one test which the settlement is bound to respect is that its particular amount of luxury shall tend to "free" the social expression of its neighbors, and not cumber that expression. The residents at Hull House find that the better in quality and taste their surroundings are, the more they contribute to the general enjoyment.

We have distinct advantages for Social Settlements in America. There are fewer poor people here than in England. There are also

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fewer people who expect to remain poor, and they are less strictly confined to their own districts. It is an advantage that our cities are diversified by foreign colonies. We go to Europe and consider our view incomplete if we do not see something of the peasant life of the little villages with their quaint costumes and suggestive habits. We can see the same thing here. There are Bohemians, Italians, Poles, Russians, Greeks, and Arabs in Chicago vainly trying to adjust their peasant life to the life of a large city and coming in contact with only the most ignorant Americans in that city. The more of scholarship, the more of linguistic attainment, the more of beautiful surroundings a Settlement among them can command, the more it can do for them.

It is much easier to deal with the first generation of crowded city life than with the second or third, because it is more natural and cast in a simpler mould. The Italian and Bohemian peasants who live in Chicago still put on their bright holiday clothes on Sunday and go to visit their cousins. They tramp along with at least a suggestion of having once walked over ploughed fields and breathed country air. The second generation of city poor have no holiday clothes and consider their cousins "a bad lot." I have heard a drunken man in a maudlin stage babble of his good country mother and imagine he was driving the cows home, and I knew that his little son, who laughed loud at him, would be drunk earlier in life, and would have no such pastoral interlude to his ravings. Hospitality still survives among foreigners, although it is buried under false pride among the poorest Americans. One thing seemed clear in regard to entertaining these foreigners: to preserve and keep for them whatever of value their past life contained and to bring them in contact with a better type of Americans. For two years, every Saturday evening, our Italian neighbors were our guests; entire families came. These evenings were very popular during our first winter at Hull House. Many educated Italians helped us, and the house became known as a place where Italians were welcome and where national holidays were observed. They come to us with their petty lawsuits, sad relics of the *vendetta*, with their incorrigible boys, with their hospital cases, with their aspirations for American clothes, and with their needs for an interpreter.

Friday evening is devoted to Germans and is similar in purpose; but owing to the superior education of our Teutonic guests and the clever leading of a cultivated German woman, we can bring out the best of that cozy social intercourse which is found in its perfection in the "Fatherland." They sing a great deal in the tender minor of the

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German folksong or in the rousing spirit of the Rhine. They are slowly but persistently pursuing a course in German history and literature. The relationship by no means ends with social civilities, and the acquaintance made there has brought about radical changes in the lives of many friendless families. I recall one peasant woman, straight from the fields of Germany. Her two years in America had been spent in patiently carrying water up and down two flights of stairs and in washing the heavy flannel suits of iron-foundry workers. For this her pay had averaged thirty-five cents a day. Three of her daughters had fallen victims to the vice of the city. The mother was bewildered and distressed, but understood nothing. We were able to induce the betrayer of one daughter to marry her; the second, after a tedious lawsuit, supported his child; with the third we were able to do nothing. This woman is now living with her family in a little house seventeen miles from the city. She has made two payments on her land and is a lesson to all beholders as she pastures her cow up and down the railroad tracks and makes money from her ten acres. She did not need charity. She had an immense capacity for hard work, but she sadly needed "heading." She is our most shining example, but I think of many forlorn cases of German and Bohemian peasants in need of neighborly help.

Perhaps of more value than to the newly arrived peasant is the service of the settlement to those foreigners who speak English fairly well, and who have been so successful in material affairs that they are totally absorbed by them. Their social life is too often reduced to a sense of comradeship. The lives of many Germans for instance are law-abiding, but inexpressibly dull. They have resigned poetry and romance with the other good things of the Fatherland. There is a strong family affection between them and their English-speaking children, but their pleasures are not in common and they seldom go out together. Perhaps the greatest value of the Settlement to them is in simply placing large and pleasant rooms with musical facilities at their disposal, and in reviving their almost forgotten enthusiasm for Körner and Schiller. I have seen sons and daughters stand in complete surprise as their mother's knitting-needles softly beat time to the song she was singing, or her worn face turned rosy under the hand-clapping as she made an old-fashioned courtesy at the end of a German poem. It was easy to fancy a growing touch of respect in her children's manner to her and a rising enthusiasm for German literature and reminiscence on the part of all the family, an effort to bring together the old

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life and the new, a respect for the older cultivation, and not quite so much assurance that the new was the best. I think that we have a right to expect that our foreigners will do this for us: that they will project a little of the historic and romantic into the prosaic quarters of our American cities.

But our social evenings are by no means confined to foreigners. Our most successful clubs are entirely composed of English-speaking and American-born young people. Those over sixteen meet in two clubs, one for young men and one for girls, every Monday evening. Each club dispatches various literary programmes before nine o'clock, when they meet together for an hour of social amusement before going home at ten. Dancing they always prefer, although they will devise other amusements. The members of the Tuesday evening clubs are from fourteen to sixteen years old; a few of them are still in school, but most of them are working. The boys who are known as the Young Citizen's Club are supposed to inform themselves on municipal affairs, as are the Hull House Columbian Guards who report alleys and streets for the Municipal Order League. We have various other clubs of young people that meet weekly; their numbers are limited only by the amount of room. We hold the dining-room, the reception-room, and the octagon each evening for the College Extension classes, and can reserve only the large drawing-room and gymnasium for the clubs and receptions. The gymnasium is a somewhat pretentious name for a building next door which was formerly a saloon, but which we rented last fall, repaired, and fitted up with simple apparatus. A "real gymnasium" is at present being built for Hull House. During the winter the old one sheltered some enthusiastic athletic classes. The evenings were equally divided between men and women. The children came in the afternoon. This may answer for a description of the formal social evenings, although there is much social life going on constantly which cannot be tabulated.

To turn to the educational effort, it will be perhaps better first to describe the people who respond to it. In every neighborhood where poorer people live, because rents are supposed to be cheaper there, is an element which, although uncertain in the individual, in the aggregate can be counted upon. It is composed of people of former education and opportunity who have cherished ambitions and prospects, but who are caricatures of what they meant to be—"hollow ghosts which blame the living men." There are times in many lives when there is a cessation of energy and loss of power. Men and women

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of education and refinement come to live in a cheaper neighborhood because they lack the power of making money, because of ill-health, because of an unfortunate marriage, or for various other reasons which do not imply criminality or stupidity. Among them are those who, in spite of untoward circumstances, keep up some sort of an intellectual life, those who are "great for books" as their neighbors say. To such the Settlement is a genuine refuge. In addition to these there are many young women who teach in the public schools, young men who work at various occupations, but who are bent upon self-improvement and are preparing for professions. It is of these that the College Extension classes are composed. The majority of the two hundred students live within the radius of six blocks from the house, although a few of them come from other parts of the city. The educational effort of Hull House always has been held by the residents to be subordinate to its social life and, as it were, a part of it. What is now known as the College Extension course, a series of lectures and classes held in the evening on the general plan of University Extension, had its origin in an informal club which, during the first winter, read "Romola" with the original residents. During the last term thirty-five classes a week were in existence. The work is divided into terms of twelve weeks, and circulars are issued at the beginning of each term. Many students have taken studies in each of the seven terms of work offered.

The relation of students and faculty to each other and to the residents is that of guest and hostess, and those students who have been longest in relation to the Settlement feel the responsibility of old friends of the house to new guests. A good deal of tutoring is constantly going on among the students themselves in the rooms of Hull House. At the close of each term the residents give a reception to students and faculty, which is one of the chief social events of the season. Upon this comfortable social basis very good work has been done in the College Extension courses. Literature classes until recently have been the most popular. The last winter's Shakespeare class had a regular attendance of forty. The mathematical classes have always been large and flourishing. The faculty, consisting of college men and women, numbers thirty-five. Many of them have taught constantly at the house for two years, but their numbers are often re-enforced. During the last term a class in physics, preparatory for a class in electricity, was composed largely of workmen in the Western Electric Works, which are within a few blocks of Hull House. A fee

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of fifty cents is charged for each course of study. This defrays all incidental expenses and leaves on hand each term fifty or seventy dollars, with which to import distinguished lecturers.

It has always been the policy of Hull House to co-operate as much as possible with public institutions. The Chicago Public Library has an almost unique system of branch reading-rooms and library stations. Five rooms are rented by the library in various parts of the city which are fitted up for reading-rooms, and in addition to magazines and papers they are supplied with several hundred books. There are also other stations where public-library cards can be left and to which books are delivered. Hull House was made one of these delivery stations during its second year, and when in June, 1891, the Butler Gallery was completed we offered the lower floor as a branch reading-room. The City Library supplies English magazines and papers and two librarians who are in charge. There are papers in Italian, German, Bohemian, and French. Hull House gives the room free of rent. The number of readers the first month was 1,213; during the fifth month, 2,454. The upper floor of the Butler Gallery is divided into an art exhibition room and a studio. Our first art exhibit was opened in June, 1891, by Mr. and Mrs. Barnett, of St. Jude's, Whitechapel. It is always pleasant to associate their hearty sympathy with that first exhibit. The pictures were some of the best that Chicago could afford, several by Corot, Watts, and Davis. European country scenes, sea views, and Dutch interiors bring forth many pleasant reminiscences, and the person who is in charge of the pictures to explain them is many times more edified than edifying. We have had four exhibits during the year since the gallery was completed, two of oil-paintings, one of old engravings and etchings, and one of water-colors. The average attendance at these exhibits has been three thousand. An exhibit is open from two in the afternoon until ten in the evening, and continues usually two weeks. The value of these exhibits to the neighborhood must, of course, be determined by the value one attaches to the sense of beauty and the pleasure which arises from its contemplation. Classes in free-hand drawing are held in the studio of the Butler Gallery. They have been very popular from the first and some excellent work has been done.

Every Thursday evening for three years, save during the three summer months, we have had a lecture of some sort at Hull House. This has come to be an expected event in the neighborhood. These lectures are largely attended by the College Extension students, and

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the topics are supposed to connect with their studies, but many other people come to them and often join a class because of the interest a lecturer has awakened. This attraction is constantly in mind when these lectures are planned. For two years a summer school has been held at Rockford, Ill., in connection with the College Extension classes. From one-third to one-half the students have been able to attend it, paying their board for a month and enjoying out-door study quite as much as the classes. I would recommend for imitation the very generous action on the part of the Rockford College trustees in placing at our disposal their entire educational apparatus, from the dining-room to the laboratories. On the border land between social and educational activity are our Sunday afternoon concerts, and the Plato Club which follows them.

The industrial education of Hull House has always been somewhat limited. From the beginning we have had large and enthusiastic cooking classes, first in the Hull House kitchen and later in a tiny cottage across the alley which has been fitted up for the purpose. We have also always had sewing, mending, and embroidery classes. This leads me to speak of the children who meet weekly at Hull House, whose organization is between classes and clubs. There are three hundred of them who come on three days, not counting, of course, the children who come to the house merely as depositors in the Penny Provident Fund Savings Bank. A hundred Italian girls come on Monday. They sew and carry home a new garment, which becomes a pattern for the entire family. Tuesday afternoon has always been devoted to school-boys' clubs: they are practically story-telling clubs. The most popular stories are legends and tales of chivalry. The one hundred and fifty little girls on Friday afternoon are not very unlike the boys, although they want to sew while they are hearing their stories. The value of these clubs, I believe, lies almost entirely in their success in arousing the higher imagination. We have had a kindergarten at Hull House ever since we have lived there. Every morning miniature Italians, Hebrews, French, Irish, and Germans assemble in our drawing-room, and nothing seems to excite admiration in the neighborhood so much as the fact that we "put up with them."

In addition to the neighbors who respond to the receptions and classes are found those who are too battered and oppressed to care for them. To these, however, is left that susceptibility to the bare offices of humanity which raises such offices into a bond of fellowship. These

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claim humanitarian efforts. Perhaps the chief value of a Settlement to its neighborhood, certainly to the newly arrived foreigner, is its office as an information and interpretation bureau. It sometimes seems as if the business of the settlement were that of a commission merchant. Without endowment and without capital itself, it constantly acts between the various institutions of the city and the people for whose benefit these institutions were erected. The hospitals, the county agencies, and State asylums, are often but vague rumors to the people who need them most. This commission work, as I take it, is of value not only to the recipient, but to the institutions themselves. Each institution is obliged to determine upon the line of its activity, to accept its endowment for that end and do the best it can. But each time this is accomplished it is apt to lace itself up in certain formulas, is in danger of forgetting the mystery and complexity of life, of repressing the promptings that spring from growing insight.

The residents of a Social Settlement have an opportunity of seeing institutions from the recipient's standpoint, of catching the spirit of the original impulse which founded them. This experience ought to have a certain value and ultimately find expression in the institutional management. One of the residents of Hull House received this winter an appointment from the Cook County agent as a county visitor. She reported at the agency each morning, and all the cases within a radius of several blocks from Hull House were given to her for investigation. This gave her a legitimate opportunity for knowing the poorest people in the neighborhood. In no cases were her recommendations refused or her judgments reversed by the men in charge of the office. From the very nature of our existence and purpose we are bound to keep on good terms with every beneficent institution in the city. Passing by our telephone last Sunday morning, I was struck with the list of numbers hung on the wall for easy reference. They were those of the Visiting Nurses' Association; Cook County Hospital; Women's and Children's Hospital; Maxwell Street Police Station for city ambulance; Health Department; City Hall; Cook County Agent, etc. We have been on very good terms with the Hebrew Relief and Aid Society, the Children's Aid, the Humane Society, the Municipal Order League, and with the various church and national relief associations. Every summer we send out dozens of children to the country on the "Daily News" Fresh Air Fund and to the Holiday Home at Lake Geneva. Our most complete co-operation has been with the Visiting Nurses' Association. One of

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the nurses lives at Hull House, pays her board as a resident, and does her work from there. Friends of the house are constantly in need of her ministrations, and her cases become friends of the house. Owing to the lack of a charity organization society in Chicago we have been obliged to keep a sum of money as a relief fund. Five bath-rooms in the rear of Hull House are open to the neighborhood and are constantly in use. The number of baths taken in July was nine hundred and eighty.

The more definite humanitarian effect of Hull House has taken shape in a day nursery, which was started during the second year of our residence on Halsted Street. A frame cottage of six rooms across our yard has been fitted up as a *crèche*. At present we receive from thirty to forty children daily. A young lady who has had kindergarten training is in charge; she has the assistance of an older woman, and a kindergarten by a professional teacher is held each morning in the play-room. This nursery is not merely a convenience in the neighborhood; it is, to a certain extent, a neighborhood affair. Similar in spirit is the Hull House Diet Kitchen, in a little cottage directly back of the nursery. Food is prepared for invalids and orders are taken from physicians and visiting nurses of the district. We have lately had an outfit of Mr. Atkinson's inventions, in which the women of the neighborhood have taken a most intelligent interest. We sometimes have visions of a kitchen similar in purpose to the New England Kitchen of Boston, but on a more co-operative plan, managed by the Hull House Woman's Club. This club meets one afternoon a week. It is composed of the most able women of the neighborhood, who enjoy the formal addresses and many informal discussions. The economics of food and fuel are often discussed. The Hull House household expenses are frankly compared with those of other households. I have always felt that "friendly visiting," while of great value, was one-sided. To be complete the "friendly visitor" should also be the friendly visited. It is quite possible that looking over her expense book with that of her "case" would be beneficial to her. The residents at Hull House find in themselves a constantly increasing tendency to consult their neighbors on the advisability of each new undertaking. We have lately opened a boarding club for working girls near Hull House on the co-operative plan. I say advisedly that we have "opened" it; the running of it is quite in the hands of the girls themselves. The furniture, pictures, etc., belong to Hull House, and whatever experience we have is at their disposal;

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but it is in no sense a working-girls' "home," nor is it to be run from the outside. We hope a great deal from this little attempt at co-operative housekeeping. The club has been running three months and has twenty-five members.

In summing up the objective value of Hull House, I am sorry we have not more to present in the line of civic activities. It was through the energy of a resident this spring that the fact that the public-school census recorded 6,976 school-children in the nineteenth ward and that they were provided with only 2,957 public-school sittings was made prominent just before the appropriations were voted for school buildings and sites. It was largely through her energy and the energy of the people whom she interested in it that the Board of Education was induced to purchase a site for a school building in our ward and to save and equip for immediate use a school-house about to be turned into a warehouse.

During two months of this summer the reports sent in from Hull House to the Municipal Order League and through it to the Health Department were one thousand and thirty-seven. The Department showed great readiness to co-operate with this volunteer inspection, and a marked improvement has taken place in the scavenger service and in the regulation of the small stables of the ward.

Hull House has had, I hope, a certain value to the women's trades unions of Chicago. It seems to me of great importance that as trades unions of women are being formed they should be kept, if possible, from falling into the self-same pits the men's unions have fallen into. Women possessing no votes and therefore having little political value will be both of advantage and disadvantage to their unions. Four women's unions meet regularly at Hull House: the book-binders', the shoemakers', the shirtmakers', and the cloak-makers'. The last two were organized at Hull House. It has seemed to us that the sewing trades are most in need of help. They are thoroughly disorganized, Russian and Polish tailors competing against English-speaking tailors, young girls and Italian women competing against both. An efficient union which should combine all these elements seems very difficult, unless it grow strong enough to offer a label and receive unexpected aid from the manufacturers. In that case there would be the hope of co-operation on the part of the consumers, as the fear of contagion from ready-made clothing has at last seized the imagination of the public.

That the trades unions themselves care for what we have done

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for them is shown by the fact that when the committee of investigation for the sweating system was appointed by the Trades and Labor Assembly, consisting of five delegates from the unions and five from other citizens, two of the latter were residents of Hull House. It is logical that a Settlement should have a certain value in labor complications, having from its very position sympathies entangled on both sides. Last May twenty girls from a knitting factory who struck because they were docked for loss of time when they were working by the piece, came directly from the factory to Hull House. They had heard that we "stood by working people." We were able to have the strike arbitrated, and although six girls lost their places, the unjust fines were remitted and we had the satisfaction of putting on record one more case of arbitration in the slowly growing list. We were helped in this case, as we have been in many others, by the Bureau of Justice. Its office is constantly crowded with working people who hope for redress from the law but have no money with which to pay for it. There should be an office of this bureau in every ward. Hull House, in spite of itself, does a good deal of legal work. We have secured support for deserted women, insurance for bewildered widows, damages for injured operators, furniture from the clutches of the instalment store. One function of the Settlement to its neighborhood somewhat resembles that of the big brother whose mere presence on the play-ground protects the little one from bullies. A resident at Hull House is at present collecting labor statistics in the neighborhood for the Illinois State Bureau of Labor. It is a matter of satisfaction that this work can be done from the Settlement and the residents receive the benefit of the information collected.

It is difficult to classify the Working People's Social Science Club, which meets weekly at Hull House. It is social, educational, and civic in character, the latter chiefly because it strongly connects the house with the labor problems in their political and social aspects. This club was organized at Hull House in the spring of 1890 by an English workingman. It has met weekly since, save during the months of summer. At eight o'clock every Wednesday evening the secretary calls to order from forty to one hundred people. A chairman for the evening is elected and a speaker is introduced who is allowed to talk until nine o'clock; his subject is then thrown open to discussion and a lively debate ensues until ten o'clock, at which hour the meeting is declared adjourned. The enthusiasm of this club seldom lags. Its zest for discussion is unceasing, and any attempt to

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turn it into a study or reading club always meets with the strong disapprobation of the members. Chicago is full of social theorists. It offers a cosmopolitan opportunity for discussion. The only possible danger from this commingling of many theories is incurred when there is an attempt at suppression; bottled up, there is danger of explosion; constantly uncorked, open to the deodorizing and freeing process of the air, all danger is averted. Nothing so disconcerts a social agitator as to find among his auditors men who have been through all that and who are quite as radical as he in another direction.

The economic conferences which were held between business men and workingmen during the winter of 1888–89 and the two succeeding winters doubtless did much toward relieving this state of effervescence. Many thoughtful men in Chicago are convinced that if these conferences had been established earlier the Haymarket riot and all its sensational results might have been avoided. The Sunset Club is at present performing much the same function. There is still need, however, for many of these clubs where men who differ widely in their social theories can meet for discussion, where representatives of the various economic schools can modify each other, and at least learn tolerance and the futility of endeavoring to convince all the world of the truth of one position. To meet in a social-science club is more educational than to meet in a single-tax club, or a socialistic chapter, or a personal-rights league, although the millennium may seem farther off after such a meeting. In addition to this modification of view there is doubtless a distinct modification of attitude. This spring the Hull House Social Science Club heard a series of talks on municipal and county affairs by the heads of the various departments. During the discussion following the address on "The Chicago Police," a workingman had the pleasure of telling the chief of police that he had been arrested, obliged to pay two dollars and a half, and had lost three days' work, because he had come out of the wrong gate when he was working on the World's Fair grounds. The Chief sighed, expressed his regret, and made no defence. The speaker sat down bewildered; evidently for the first time in his life he realized that blunders cut the heart of more than the victim.

Is it possible for men, however far apart in outward circumstances, for the capitalist and the workingman, to use the common phrase, to meet as individuals beneath a friendly roof, open their minds each to each, and not have their "class theories" insensibly modified by the kindly attrition of a personal acquaintance? In the light of our experience I should say not.

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In describing Hull House and in referring so often to the "residents," I feel that I may have given a wrong impression. By far the larger amount of the teaching and formal club work is done by people living outside of the House. Between ninety and one hundred of these people meet on appointment regularly each week. Our strength lies largely in this element. The average number of people who come to the House during the week is one thousand.

I am always sorry to have Hull House regarded as philanthropy, although it doubtless has strong philanthropic tendencies and has several distinct charitable departments which are conscientiously carried on. It is unfair, however, to apply the word philanthropic to the activities of the House as a whole. Charles Booth in his brilliant chapter on "The Unemployed" expresses regret that the problems of the working class are so often confounded with the problems of the inefficient, the idle, and distressed. To confound thus two problems is to render the solution of both impossible. Hull House, while endeavoring to fulfil its obligations to neighbors of varying needs, will do great harm if it confounds distinct problems. Working people live in the same streets with those in need of charity, but they themselves require and want none of it. As one of their number has said, they require only that their aspirations be recognized and stimulated and the means of attaining them put at their disposal. Hull House makes a constant effort to secure these means, but to call that effort philanthropy is to use the word unfairly and to underestimate the duties of good citizenship.

JANE ADDAMS.

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THE McKINLEY ACT AND THE COST OF LIVING.

THE doctrine that Congress has no power under the Constitution to impose protective duties, which is now declared to be the fundamental principle of Democratic policy, is absurd and untenable; and the political party that deliberately adopts a principle so at variance with the teachings of all accepted authorities and the unbroken practice of the Nation for more than a century, achieves discredit and invites defeat. The friends of protection, however, cannot afford in the pending political campaign to base their claims to popular confidence and support solely upon the mistakes of their adversaries. They have always insisted that the merits of the revenue system they advocate should be estimated by practical results, and even the stupendous Democratic blunder does not relieve them of the necessity of proving that protective duties are essentially beneficial and are not productive of the evil results so freely ascribed to them by tariff reformers. Republicans are not only required to have distinctive principles, but definite plans for their embodiment into law, and in answer to these demands they should at all times be prepared to submit their tariff policy to the critical judgment of the American people.

The American public may take but little interest in the discussion of abstract theoretical or constitutional problems, but an inquiry into the actual effect which a tariff system has upon their progress, happiness, and welfare is to them a pregnant, living question of vital force and importance. This is shown by the great interest manifested in the examination now going on into the character of the changes in industrial and commercial conditions and in wages and prices which have taken place since the adoption of the tariff acts of 1890.

All agree that the wisdom of the American protective system was subjected anew to the supreme test of experience by the enactment of these laws. This legislation was, however, so comprehensive and far-reaching in its character that its friends may fairly assume that the full measure of its beneficial results could not be realized within the short period of two years, especially in view of the repressive and

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depressing effects of the elections of 1890. Notwithstanding this limitation protectionists welcome the most searching examination into the direct and indirect effects of these enactments, and will not attempt to evade any responsibility for their ascertained results. I hope to be able to direct attention to some phases of this important examination that have not heretofore received sufficient consideration. Preliminary to this it may be profitable to recall briefly the circumstances and conditions that led to the preparation and adoption of the tariff legislation of the Fifty-first Congress.

For twenty years there had been no thorough and complete revision of our revenue laws. During this time a sweeping industrial revolution had taken place. New conditions had arisen, the outgrowth of inventions and improved methods of manufacture. Aside from the readjustment of rates which these changed conditions rendered necessary, there were other causes which made the demand for tariff revision imperative. Excessive national revenues were to be reduced; existing inequalities and defects required adequate remedies; the practice of evading customs laws by fraudulent undervaluations was to be broken up. The great falling off in prices in twenty years had in some cases rendered ad valorem rates imposed at the beginning of this period insufficient for protective purposes. But, more important than all, the time had arrived when American artisans and mechanics should be given the opportunity to produce a large class of articles which had heretofore been supplied entirely by foreign producers; these included the finer and more expensive articles in all the great branches of manufacture, and their successful production here was of the highest importance from an industrial standpoint. In addition to the necessity of providing for the enlargement and security of American industries, it was deemed important, as an essential part of the American system, that Congress should provide by appropriate legislation for the expansion of a profitable foreign commerce and the enlargement of foreign markets for American products.

It was with these purposes in view and for the accomplishment of these objects that the work of preparation for tariff revision was commenced by the Senate Finance Committee in 1885. Five years of careful study and examination were given to the work. Exhaustive inquiries were carried into every conceivable phase of this great question. All the questions pertaining to the revenue, the relation of various industries to each other, the manner in which each was affected by tariff legislation, and the problem of securing for each

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such an adjustment of rates as would give to it the highest degree of prosperity, received consideration.

Without detracting in any way from the great credit due the House committee for their share in the work at a later period, I can speak in the most positive terms of the unremitting, intelligent, and conscientious labor performed by my associates on the Senate Committee in this great task of preparation. Some idea can be formed of the magnitude of their work from the statement that a portion of the testimony taken by the Committee fills six volumes containing over three thousand pages. There was also available for the use of members of the Committee the testimony taken by various congressional committees and commissions within the eight preceding years, and there certainly could be no excuse for ignorance on the part of the framers of these acts in regard to any branch of the subject.

It is within the knowledge of all those engaged in this work of preparation that there is no basis of truth whatever for any assertion or insinuation that the rates in the tariff act of 1890, or the Senate bill of 1888 upon which it was based, were adopted blindly or at the demand of manufacturers or other interested parties, or that the whole or any portion of the revision was hurriedly conceived to meet political exigencies or to pay political debts. In the preparation of these acts an honest attempt was made to construct a harmonious and symmetrical system of revenue laws that should give increased activity and a greater degree of prosperity to all American interests. It is in the light of these purposes that the criticisms of the opponents of the measures should be examined.

It is safe to say of the tariff act of 1890 that no previous act had been denounced in such unmeasured terms. It was looked upon by Democrats as the incarnation of all that was vicious in tariff legislation. Their allegations in regard to its evil character and their statements of the disastrous results which were certain to follow its adoption were made with the greatest confidence and constantly reiterated. Not a shadow of doubt was ever expressed by them concerning the certain fulfilment of every one of their dismal prophecies. They asserted with emphasis:

First. That the act increased rates of duty enormously above those imposed by the act of 1883.

Secondly. That much higher rates were imposed upon articles in common use by the poor than upon those consumed by the rich, and in all cases excessive duties were levied upon the necessaries of life.

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Notwithstanding the fact that both these allegations were shown to be untrue in the course of the discussion of the bill in the Senate, they were repeated again and again and made the basis of further claims as follows:

First. That these excessive tariff rates, added as they must be in all cases to the cost of articles of both foreign and domestic production, would result in greatly increased prices.

Secondly. That this increase in prices would necessarily add largely to the burdens of the great masses of the people of the country by greatly augmenting their cost of living.

Thirdly. That through the injurious effects of its provisions on commerce and industry the act would lessen the opportunities for profitable employment and compel a reduction of the wages and earnings of all classes.

To test the accuracy of these allegations was the purpose of the recent exhaustive investigation of the Senate Finance Committee into the course of prices and wages. This inquiry disclosed the fact that prices of commodities and cost of living had not advanced, but on the contrary had declined during the period subsequent to the passage of the act of 1890. It also appeared that an advance in wages and not a decline had taken place during the same period. The statistical reports of the various Departments show that there have been increased instead of diminished industrial activities and an expansion instead of a restriction of foreign commerce. Not one Democratic prediction of evil has been fulfilled; not one Democratic assurance of injurious results has been verified.

After the publication of the Finance Committee's report and after the public had become convinced of the falsity of the original Democratic assertions, a change in base took place, and leading representatives of the Democratic party formulated a new bill of particulars against the Republican tariff legislation of 1890. I propose to give some attention to these amended claims of the Democracy.

They now admit that prices and the cost of living are lower than in the period prior to October, 1890, but assert that for a few months in the latter part of 1890 and the first part of 1891 prices and the cost of living were higher than in 1889, and that this result was owing to the legislation of 1890. It is true that at the time named prices advanced slightly, but, as can be readily seen by an examination of the detailed report of the Committee, these advances were in the prices of food and were owing almost entirely to the increased price of agricul-

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tural products, which were largely affected by other causes than changes in tariff rates. It will be seen that in none of the months in question did the average prices rise above the level of the initial period in any of the groups of cloths and clothing, metals and implements, drugs and chemicals, and house-furnishing goods, and these groups include nearly all the manufactured articles that could possibly be directly affected by changes in tariff rates. This is conclusive evidence that the advance that took place did not result to any perceptible extent from an increase in rates, and this can be further shown by a comparison of the relative course of English and American prices during this period.

The following table gives the course of wholesale prices in the United States, from the committee's report, and the course of English wholesale prices as shown by the "Economist" index number for the same dates, and establishes the fact that the advance in prices at the time named was greater in England than in the United States, and I presume it will not be claimed that this advance arose from a modification of our tariff laws. In the construction of this table the prices of July, 1889, are taken as a basis at 100, and the comparisons made quarterly, as the "Economist" index number is computed quarterly:

RELATIVE WHOLESALE PRICES IN THE UNITED STATES AND ENGLAND, AS SHOWN BY THE REPORT ON WAGES AND PRICES OF THE SENATE FINANCE COMMITTEE AND THE INDEX NUMBERS OF THE "ECONOMIST."

	England.	United States.
July, 1889	100	100
July, 1890	104.83	101.75
October, 1890	106.48	102.92
July, 1891	101.20	100.82

There are no data available by which we can make a comparison of English and American retail prices for the months in question. Mr. Sauerbeck's tables, however, of the course of English prices of forty-five leading articles show monthly changes in England, and I have made a comparison below of his figures and the American retail prices as shown by the report of the Committee. This comparison furnishes further proof of the fact that prices rose to a higher point relatively in England in October, 1890, than in the United States. This was undoubtedly owing to the fact that the advance in the price of food products was greater in Great Britain than here.

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RELATIVE PRICES IN ENGLAND AND THE UNITED STATES, AS SHOWN BY THE STATEMENT OF RETAIL PRICES IN THE REPORT OF THE SENATE FINANCE COMMITTEE AND MR. SAUERBECK'S INDEX NUMBERS IN THE JOURNAL OF THE LONDON STATISTICAL SOCIETY.

	England.	United States.
June, July, and August, 1889.....	100	100
July, 1890.....	99.07	99.56
October, 1890.....	101.43	99.71
July, 1891.....	99.63	99.03
September, 1891.....	99.76	98.92

The second of the new Democratic propositions to which I call attention is the following: Admitting that the average price of articles which enter into the cost of living has been reduced, it is now claimed that an advance took place at one time in the price of certain articles, that these were the articles upon which the rates of duty were increased by the act of 1890, and that the reductions in price which took place were upon articles where no change in rates was made or where the rates were reduced.

An examination of the tables submitted with the report shows that this claim has no foundation. Advances and declines took place apparently without regard to changes in rates. In the group of cloths and clothing certain articles of woollen manufacture, notably carpets, worsted suitings and overcoatings, advanced in price, but a greater number of articles of woollen manufacture upon which rates were advanced, including blankets, flannels, wool hats, hosiery and underwear of all kinds, declined in price. Three grades of women's woollen dress goods advanced slightly and four grades declined in an equal ratio. There was a considerable advance in the rates on both cotton and woollen hosiery, but of the eight hosiery items seven declined in price and only one advanced. In linen goods, table cloths and towellings advanced in price, but men's collars and cuffs, on which the greatest advance in rates was made, declined considerably. A decline in price also took place in linen thread and men's shirts, where an equal advance of rates had been made. In the group of lumber and building materials the rates on cement, lime, and linseed oil were largely increased, and yet we find that a considerable decline took place in the price of each of these articles, especially in linseed oil, where it was very marked. The rates of duty on white lead remain unchanged, and yet the only considerable advance in this group was in the price of that article. The duty on pine boards was reduced and there was an advance in the price. It is impossible to trace any rela-

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tion between the changes in rates which took place in any of the groups alluded to and the variations in price during the period named. Of the articles in which an advance in price took place prior to September 1, prices have declined since that date to a lower point than ever, the examination for May, 1892, showing that carpets even at that time were lower than in June, 1889.

In some cases a decline in prices concurrent with an increase in rates is undoubtedly owing to the desperate efforts of foreign manufacturers to hold the American market for articles of their production. They have cut down cost of production to the lowest possible point by a merciless scaling of wages and by the adoption of every other known expedient, and have sold their goods in the American market, duty paid, at less than the prices current prior to October, 1890. Some of these manufacturers are strangely boasting through their agents here that the quality of their goods is being debased to meet the demand for reduced prices. Frauds of this nature will, however, soon lose their power to deceive the American people.

Democrats are troubled in regard to the consistency of protectionists who suggest that the ultimate effect of a protective tariff is to reduce prices. Protectionists believe that an intelligent application of protective principles leads to greater diversification of industries and to a more effective organization of labor, and these to a more rapid and certain social and mental development and to an improvement and expansion of the productive forces of the country. They believe that this great work of development renders wider competition possible, stimulates invention, and leads to better methods of production and distribution. All these taken together insure lower cost of production and lower prices. The volume of domestic production added to the productive capacity of the world becomes a potential factor in the lowering of prices. Domestic industries once thoroughly established, the tendency of cost of production is always downward.

There can be no better illustration of the beneficial effects of protective duties in developing domestic production and at the same time reducing its cost than is found in the history of the iron and steel manufacture of the United States. While we may not be able to measure the effect which the addition of this manufacture to the aggregate production of the world has had upon the general reduction of prices, it has undoubtedly been very great, and there has been, through our improved methods, a steady approximation of domestic to foreign prices. The duty on bar iron imposed at the commence-

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ment of the present century by a tariff which we are now assured by tariff reformers was not protective, was above $38 per ton. The difference in the price of bar iron in England and at Pittsburg has recently been but $1.50 per ton. Steel billets, which would have been dutiable under the tariff of 1789 at one-half cent per pound, or $11.20 per ton, now sell in Pennsylvania at only $2.50 per ton more than the foreign price. Pig iron, which during the entire period from 1846 to 1861 sold at an average price of $12 per ton higher in the United States than in Scotland, now sells here within $1.50 per ton of the Scotch price. This approximation of prices is remarkable in view of the fact that the scale of wages paid by the iron and steel producers of the United States is vastly greater than that paid by their foreign competitors.

A decline in prices may or may not be of advantage to the people of a community or nation, but if it arises from the several causes I have indicated above, it is beneficial alike to domestic consumers and producers. On the other hand, a decline in prices that arises through cheapening the market value of labor is disastrous to all wage-earners. In our domestic economy there is no place for cheapness which is secured by the degradation of labor. It is not contended that the protective policy reduces prices and cost of production in all cases to the foreign level. As the cost of production is the aggregated earnings of labor, this would mean reduction of American earnings to the foreign level. We desire only to secure such an approximation to foreign prices as is possible without lowering the high wage level of the United States. It is the purpose of the protective policy ultimately to secure the lowest possible level of prices consistent with the highest possible level of wages. A rise or fall in prices taken alone furnishes no indication of the relative condition of the people from time to time. It is necessary in this inquiry to ascertain the course of wages or earnings as well as the course of prices, as it is the comparative purchasing power of wages and not the range of prices alone that fixes the relative and actual condition of wage-earners.

While it is not denied that the investigation of the Senate Finance Committee into the course of wages from June, 1889, to September, 1891, established the fact that during this period an average increase took place in the wages paid in fifteen general occupations which were selected by the Committee as a test, an attempt is now made by leading Democrats to show that the fifteen general occupations selected by the Committee were non-protected industries, and that the fifteen special industries for which scattering quotations were obtained were

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protected industries, and that in the latter class wages were lower in September, 1891, than in October, 1890. These claims have no foundation. No such classification of industries can be made. It certainly cannot be said that machinists, iron-moulders, stone-cutters, tailors, or tinsmiths, these being included in the fifteen general occupations, are engaged in the production of articles that are not protected. It is equally untrue that the statistics secured for special industries show a reduction in wages. Taking the same basis for comparison, an average increase is shown, and taking any basis, the tendency to higher rates is unmistakable. These quotations in the special industries to which I have referred were collected with a view to verifying the figures for general occupations. They were not collected with a view to covering adequately the course of wages in the important industries included, but were picked up at random as occasion offered. They were regarded by the Committee, as stated in the report, as so many quotations of specimen wages and nothing more.

It is true that the quotations show an apparent reduction of average wages in three of the special industries, viz., flint glass, lumber, and steel ingots, between October 1, 1890, and September 1, 1891. The other twenty-seven industries for which quotations were collected show either substantial uniformity or an increase in wages during the period between the enactment of the law and the close of the investigation. The entire alleged average reductions grew out of the changes which took place in a few occupations in these three industries. The unimportant character of these reductions will be apparent upon inspection of the detailed tables in the committee's report.

For instance, the report shows an apparent reduction in wages paid in the production of flint-glass bottles. This single reduction alone accounts for the entire average reduction claimed. An inspection of the tables shows that in September, 1890, an increase in the rates of wages paid took place in one of the establishments reported on, which resulted in an average increase of wages in this industry of 12.16 per cent. This increase was maintained until June, 1891. After that date no quotations were secured. It will be seen from this that no real reduction of wages took place, as it is quite as reasonable to assume that the wages paid in September, 1891, upon the resumption of work, were as great as those which had been paid when work was suspended. Taken together, the quotations secured for special industries fully confirm the results shown by the wage tables for general occupations.

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There is no contention on the part of protectionists that it is possible to maintain a higher level of wages in industries engaged in the production of articles upon which protective duties are levied than in industries engaged in the production of articles upon which no duties are levied. It has been possible through the maintenance of protective duties to sustain a much higher level of wages in this country than in any other, but within our own limits the laws of supply and demand and the relative capacity and intelligence of the workman fix the relative rate of wages, and no one pretends that a machinist or a common laborer employed in a tin-plate mill would or could receive higher wages than persons employed in the same kind and character of work elsewhere in the country under like conditions.

The actual increase in rates of wages in all occupations between 1889 and 1891 was undoubtedly considerably greater than the indicated increase in the fifteen general occupations selected by the Finance Committee. In evidence of this I will state that an investigation by the same Committee over a much wider field of occupations and industries, made independently of the inquiry for twenty-eight months above referred to, shows an average increase of wages in all occupations of 1.8 per cent between 1890 and 1891. The results of the Committee's investigations are confirmed in a striking manner by the recent valuable report of the Commissioner of Labor Statistics of New York, Mr. Charles F. Peck. This report shows an increase in the average annual earnings of 285,000 persons engaged in 67 different industries, representing 1,121 trades, of $23.11 *per capita*. This would indicate an increase in annual earnings of about 4 per cent for the year 1891 over 1890. It will be noticed that the report of Commissioner Peck deals with annual earnings, while the report of the Finance Committee deals simply with rates of wages. It is manifest from an inspection of that portion of the New York report which shows a greatly increased value of the product in 1891 that the persons engaged in the various industries profited by greater continuity of employment as well as increased wages, and this accounts for a greater apparent improvement than is shown by the committee's report.

That it has been possible in recent years under circumstances of unusual difficulty to keep up the average increase in rates of wages in this country is extremely gratifying to all protectionists. During this time the country has absorbed and furnished employment to a great mass of undesirable immigrants. These people had been accustomed to work for the lowest rates of wages and to live without any of the comforts

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which have become such an essential part of American life. Their competition would have been extremely troublesome to American workmen if the rapid development of our industries had not furnished employment to constantly increasing numbers at remunerative wages. It must, however, be apparent that as a nation we are approaching the limit of our powers of assimilation in this direction. No more important or pressing problem is presented to the American legislator than to devise speedily some means of preventing further additions to the dangerous and degraded elements of our population.

While all intelligent economists and statisticians admit that there has been a general improvement in recent years in the condition of the wage-earners of the United States, as shown by a tendency to increased wages and a concurrent reduction in prices of commodities, tariff reformers now set up the claim that the movement in this direction has been retarded by the malign influences of our protective legislation, and that the improvement in this respect has not been as great in the United States under protection as it has been in our own or other countries under free trade or revenue tariffs. If this statement were true it would constitute a serious objection to protective tariffs. A comparison, however, of the relative condition of wage-earners in the United States and Great Britain for the years 1860 and 1890 shows conclusively that this claim is without foundation.

During this period average wages in the United States advanced nearly 70 per cent, while the cost of living, as shown by the decline in prices, was reduced 5 per cent. In other words, the purchasing power of wages was nearly 75 per cent greater in the year 1890, after thirty years of protection, than it was in 1860, at the close of fifteen years' experience under a revenue tariff. Coincident with this advance in wages a great reduction in the hours of employment took place. These results will appear in the forthcoming report of the Senate Finance Committee, covering an investigation into prices and wages for fifty years. They are confirmed by the census figures showing the relative annual earnings of all persons employed in the textile industries in the years 1860 and 1890, the average annual earnings for 1860 being $205 and for 1890 $332, or an advance of 61 per cent. It will be remembered that the revenue-tariff period between 1846 and 1860 is always pointed to by tariff reformers as the era of greatest prosperity for the country, and yet if the average annual earnings of the twenty-one millions of persons engaged in useful occupations in the United States at the present time should be reduced to the level of 1860, their loss

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in earnings would be more than three thousand millions of dollars per annum. The rate of progress disclosed by these examinations, attained under the beneficent influences of the protective policy, has never been approached in the history of the world.

Until recently no attempt has been made to secure an official census of the average annual wages or earnings of the people of Great Britain, and we are obliged to rely for comparison upon the estimates of well-known statisticians. Prof. Leone Levi, whose statement, perhaps, carries with it the highest weight of authority, estimated the average annual earnings of all classes of people in Great Britain in 1884 at $208 and for 1857 at $160. Recent estimates have placed the present average annual earnings of the English people at $199. If we accept Professor Levi's figures, an increase is shown in the average annual earnings of the people of Great Britain in twenty-seven years of $48, as compared with an increase of the average annual earnings in the United States of $127, taking the average earnings in textile industries of the United States as a basis of comparison. The increase in Great Britain is 30 per cent, as against 61 per cent in the United States. Professor Levi estimates that the cost of living of English workingmen increased 17 per cent between 1857 and 1884 (see "Wages and Earnings of the Working Classes," page 34), while a decline took place in the cost of living in the United States between 1860 and 1890 of more than 5 per cent. To state these results in another form, if Professor Levi's figures are accurate, the real wages of the wage-earners of Great Britain advanced 13 per cent during these years, while the advance in the United States was nearly 75 per cent.

The census of wages recently taken by the Commercial Department of the British Board of Trade enables us to make a comparison of the current American and British annual earnings in several important industries. Unfortunately the census figures for the United States for 1890 are available only in the textile industries. The annual average earnings of all persons employed in the woollen industry of Great Britain was $170.10, in the United States $304.20; in cotton manufacture in Great Britain $174.96, in the United States $301.65; in the worsted industry of Great Britain $136.08, of the United States $304.20; the percentage of American over English wages being 78 per cent, 72 per cent, and 123 per cent respectively. In the fifteen general occupations in which the Finance Committee obtained relative rates between Great Britain and the United States, the American wages were found to be 77 per cent the greater. Col. Carroll D.

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Wright, in his report for the Massachusetts Bureau of Labor Statistics, made a comparison in 1884 of the average annual wages paid in Great Britain, showing that average wages in Massachusetts were 77 per cent higher than in the same industries in Great Britain.

About one-half of the cost of living in a country is for food, and it is safe to say that the sum expended for this purpose in the United States is and must remain for some time to come less than that paid for the same quality and quantity in countries competing with us in the production of manufactured articles. In many other articles aside from food the examination of the Finance Committee and the testimony of parties who have purchased articles at retail in both countries show that the retail prices in England are in many cases as great or greater than in the United States. The earnings of English artisans and operatives will not permit of the purchase of articles for consumption on the same scale or of the same quality as in the United States.

No attempt has yet been made by tariff reformers to explain the fact which was developed by the Finance Committee's investigation that average retail prices advanced 1.9 per cent in England during the period in which a decline took place in the United States. The prices were obtained in Great Britain by the Committee for June, 1889, and for September, 1891, through skilled experts of the Department of Labor, instructed to be careful to get the prices from sales of the same goods at the same places. The prices were obtained for substantially the same list of articles as that used in obtaining prices in this country. Using the same formula which was used in this country for percentages of consumption of various articles, the cost of living was nearly 2 per cent greater in Great Britain in 1891 than in 1889. The "Economist" index numbers which I have quoted above show a general advance in prices of 1.2 per cent between July, 1889, and July, 1891, thus confirming the results ascertained by the committee.

In the presence of these facts, it is not strange that the leaders in the new crusade against the protective policy, having staked not only their own reputation as prophets, but also the value of their theories and the wisdom of their principles, upon the fulfilment of their prediction with regard to the effects of the Tariff legislation of 1890, and having lost in every instance and failed from every point of view, should now attempt to distract public attention from their complete discomfiture.

NELSON W. ALDRICH.

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THE REPUBLICAN POLICY OF RECIPROCITY.

Now that its defenders are trying to prove that the McKinley bill has not been able wholly to rob the American people of the benefits of cheapening production and cheapening distribution which mechanical invention, science, enterprise, and experience are securing for all the civilized world, and to demonstrate, by statistics, that in the grapple between that bill and the gigantic forces of modern industry those forces have come out sixty-four one-hundredths of one per cent ahead, it may not be amiss to review the history of that section of the tariff act which, according to high Republican authority, alone saved the entire measure from the fury of the people.

Reciprocity in trade relations is not a new thing; but the so-called reciprocity of the McKinley bill owed its beginning to that clause of the act of May, 1888, authorizing the President to invite delegates to the International American Conference, which named, among the topics to be considered, "measures toward the formation of an American customs union." It was after the McKinley bill had passed the House and was favorably reported in the Senate that the President, June 19, 1890, sent to Congress a letter from the Secretary of State submitting the report upon "customs union" adopted by the conference. In this letter Mr. Blaine said that fifteen out of the seventeen republics which met us in conference indicated their desire "to enter upon reciprocal commercial relations with the United States; the remaining two express equal willingness could they be assured that their advances would be favorably considered." These two were Chili and the Argentine Republic, and he deemed it unfortunate that shortly after their arrival in Washington "in search of reciprocal trade," the delegates from the latter had "read in the daily press that propositions were pending in our Congress to impose a heavy duty upon Argentine hides, which for many years had been upon the free list, and to increase the duty upon Argentine wool." They declared, he said, that free entry for their coarse wool was the only concession we had to offer them in exchange for their removal of duties on our peculiar products. After giving, in some detail, the argument in

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favor of this concession, Mr. Blaine suggested that a prompt and practicable mode of testing the question, "without the delay and uncertainty of treaties," was to submit an amendment to the pending tariff bill, the form and language of which he proceeded to give. Immediately upon the reading of this letter in the Senate, Mr. Hale offered the suggested amendment in the words proposed by Mr. Blaine, as follows:

"And the President of the United States is hereby authorized, without further legislation, to declare the ports of the United States free and open to all the products of any nation of the American hemisphere upon which no export duties are imposed, whenever and so long as such nation shall admit to its ports, free of all national, provincial (state), municipal, and other taxes, flour, cornmeal, and other breadstuffs, preserved meats, fish, vegetables and fruits, cottonseed oil, rice and other provisions, including all articles of food, lumber, furniture and all other articles of wood, agricultural implements and machinery, mining and mechanical machinery, structural steel and iron, steel rails, locomotives, railway cars and supplies, street-cars, refined petroleum, or such products of the United States as may be agreed upon."

Here was a practicable, if narrow, scheme of reciprocity; and had it been made a part of the McKinley bill, as advised by the Secretary of State, its effect in increasing trade would not be a disputed question to-day, nor would the amount of that increase have to be tested by "apothecary's measure," however much it might fall short of the promises of its author.

Mr. Blaine seems to have understood the situation. He had completely failed in his effort to get a reciprocity provision embodied in the tariff bill while it was in the hands of the House committee, and he now followed up his official letter and Mr. Hale's amendment with two letters to Senator Fry, one of which, bearing date July 11, contained the following much-quoted sentences:

"The charge against the protective policy which has injured it most is that its benefits go wholly to the manufacturer and the capitalist, and not to the farmer. . . . Here is an opportunity for a Republican Congress to open the markets of forty millions of people to the products of American farmers. I do not doubt that in many respects the tariff bill pending in the Senate is a just measure, and that most of its provisions are in accordance with the wise policy of protection; but there is not a section or a line in the entire bill that will open a market for another bushel of wheat or another barrel of pork."

And he added most impressively:

"Our foreign market for breadstuffs grows narrower. Great Britain is exerting every nerve to secure her bread supplies from India, and the rapid expansion of the wheat area in Russia gives us a powerful competitor in the markets of Europe."

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Under this public prodding from so eminent a party leader, the finance committee of the Senate could not, as the ways and means committee of the House had done, ignore Mr. Blaine's suggestion. But it would never do to let the matter come to a vote in the Senate on the Hale amendment. That committee accordingly reported to the Senate the following proposed addition to the tariff bill, which, with the omission of the first lines, was finally incorporated in that bill as the Aldrich amendment:

"That the exemptions from duty of sugar, molasses, coffee, tea, and hides provided for in this act are made with a view to secure reciprocal trade with countries producing these articles; and for this purpose, on and after the first day of July, 1891, whenever and so often as the President shall be satisfied that the government of any country producing and exporting sugars, molasses, coffee, tea, and hides, raw and uncured, or any of such articles, imposes duties or other exactions upon the agricultural or other products of the United States, which, in view of the free introduction of such sugar, molasses, coffee, tea, and hides into the United States, he may deem to be reciprocally unequal and unjust, he shall have the power and it shall be his duty to suspend, by proclamation to that effect, the provisions of this act relating to the free introduction of such sugar, molasses, coffee, tea, and hides, the production of such country, for such time as he shall deem just, and in such case and during such suspension duties shall be levied and collected and paid upon sugar, molasses, coffee, tea, and hides, the product of or exported from such designated country, as follows, namely:"

Then follow the duties: on sugar (after providing rates for the lower grades) above 20 Dutch standard, two cents per pound; on molasses, four cents per gallon; on coffee, three cents per pound; on tea, ten cents per pound.

One is at a loss whether to admire more the audacious false pretence of the entire proposition or the unique and superlative audacity of its opening sentence. Tea, coffee, and hides had been on the free list for many years in the interest of American consumers, and without any reference to reciprocity in trade. A "free breakfast-table to the workingman" was the virtuous cry under which in 1872 revenue duties were released in order that protective duties might be retained. Sugar was made free in the House bill for the same reason and with the same pretence, and it is worth adding that as late as May, 1891, Major McKinley, in his speech at the Tariff League banquet in New York, avowed that he had removed the duty because we did not produce sugar in this country, utterly forgetting or contemptuously ignoring the pretext that he had done so in order to pry open foreign markets for the American farmer.

The Senate debate on Mr. Hale's amendment began September 2,

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1890. Nothing in the "Congressional Record" is more amusing and, as throwing light upon the present law, more instructive than Mr. Hale's headlong and cheerful descent from his own genuine reciprocity scheme to the ignominious level of the Aldrich substitute. He had boldly proposed reciprocal trade with "any nation of the American hemisphere." When asked if this included Cuba and Puerto Rico he replied in the affirmative, and offered, if any one wanted it, to insert the words "or dependencies or colonies of the Western hemisphere," but denied with consternation and emphasis that it would apply to Canada. Mr. Gibson, of Louisiana, reiterating what was really the argument of Mr. Blaine's letter, that wool was the foundation for reciprocity treaties with the South American states, said that the studied silence of the Maine senator in respect to wool showed that the proposition of the Secretary of State would have no further attention paid to it in the Senate than to have a decent burial, and he added:

> "Thus perishes, even before it receives consideration, the generous, statesmanlike, and magnificent suggestion of the Secretary of State for full and free interchange of commodities with Mexico, Central and South America. It has gone down before the shepherd's crook. It has received death strokes at the hands of senators who represent wool, copper, wood, and ores."

Senator Allison, a leading member of the finance committee, hastened to say that he did not know that he should "at any time have anything to offer respecting the reciprocity features which for some reason or other seem to attach to this schedule of sugar," and to put himself on record as favoring free sugar solely because the duty came out of the pockets of the consumers of the United States. Senator Sherman, another leading member of the finance committee, after ridiculing that interpretation of the Hale amendment by its author which included Puerto Rico and Cuba and excluded Canada, declared that if any reciprocal trade relations were to be made with any country in the world, they ought to be made with Canada. He then took up that amendment and showed, in turn, that it would admit free of duty manufactures, farming products including wool, minerals and ores, whiskey, tobacco and beer, continuing his merciless catalogue until he had so thoroughly convicted Mr. Hale of a wicked attempt to undermine the whole protective system that the Maine senator begged for quarter and made haste to confess that his "amendment was hastily drawn and in no degree intended to cover the scope I had in mind"; a most remarkable confession when we recall that he had

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framed his amendment in the very words of the carefully prepared letter of the Secretary of State, and in such immediate connection with the reading of that letter to the Senate as to justify the presumption that he had offered it after consultation with that official. Nor was the veteran defender of Ohio wool willing to let him off even after this confession. He required him to specify the articles on which he would treat; and when Mr. Hale, taking great care to avoid Ohio products, named sugar, coffee, rubber, rubber goods, nitrate of soda, Mr. Sherman made the good-natured, if somewhat contemptuous response: "I am afraid my friend is whittling down his magnificent theory, this bright and brilliant hope he has been indulging in for some time, until there is not much left of it." And even when the Maine senator, thoroughly convinced of the enormity of his own proposal and heartily penitent for having offered it, hastened to declare that the committee amendment "covered the great principle," and that the designation of articles in it "suited him better than his own proposition," Mr. Sherman did not try to hide his disdain for that amendment, but said it was "not a work I would take any great pride about." The Aldrich amendment was agreed to by a party vote, Mr. Hoar's suggestion to omit the false statement with which it began being accepted by its sponsor; so that, as embodied into law, it begins with the words, "That with a view to secure reciprocal trade with countries producing the following articles," to wit, "sugars, molasses, coffee, tea, and hides," and so on, as already quoted.

Such is the history of the third section of the McKinley bill, a history so significant in itself as to require little examination into the actual working of the provision. Mr. Blaine, with a sagacity not shown by other protectionists, saw the danger and folly of the bill as it was carried through the House. He saw the imperative necessity for larger markets for the farmer, while the blind authors of that bill were intent only upon securing the home market for the special interests they represented. He first tried by personal conference with the Republican members of the House committee to secure some amendment to their Tariff bill looking toward new markets for our exports. Private advice and warning having failed, he forced the fight openly. He seized the opportunity of reporting the action of the International Conference on Customs Union to make a long argument in favor of reciprocal trade, and to embody in his letter the precise form of amendment to the House bill that would lead to genuine reciprocity with "all the nations of the American hemisphere." That amendment, in his

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own words, was immediately offered in the Senate by a senator from his own State, and in such a way as to impress the public that it was offered at the suggestion of the Secretary. He followed this up with two personal but public letters to the other senator from his State, which set forth what he could not say in his official report, the impending loss of existing markets to the American farmer and the complete failure of the McKinley bill to provide any new outlet whatever for the farmer's surplus grain or meat products. He forced the Senate finance committee to act. Something had to be done which to the unthinking might seem a compliance with the Secretary's suggestion, while it would not interfere with that monopoly of the home market which the protected interests were making more effectual through the Tariff bill, and which they would not surrender in any measure for the sake of increasing the farmers' trade with any nation of the American hemisphere.

The Hale amendment went to the finance committee of the Senate. The Aldrich amendment came out from that committee. In intention and effect they are contradictory measures. One was reciprocity; the other is retaliation. One looked to a real and expanding commerce by the free admission to our ports of all the products of the nations specified, in return for admission to their markets of a liberal list of our agricultural and manufactured products. The other looks to a diminution in the comforts and necessaries of life in every American home, whenever and as often as the President may choose to "proclaim" against the unequal tariff laws of the nations from whom we procure those comforts and necessaries. It puts in his hand a bludgeon which he may use, not to open foreign markets, but to punish or distress American consumers and American industries. We are to suffer for sugar, coffee, tea, and shoes if the follies or fiscal needs of the nations that supply us cause them to erect against us the same tariff wall we have so carefully and deliberately erected against our best customers, those who take from us the great bulk of our grain, provision, and cotton surplus.

As we read this story we are in doubt whether to admire more the cheerful eagerness with which Mr. Hale accepted the Aldrich amendment in place of his own proposition, or the cynical and business-like manner in which the finance committee forced that acceptance. It was a clear case of beginning with a demand for a foreign mission and taking with effusive gratitude "a pair of old breeches." And it is but just to say there was no hypocrisy on the side of the committee.

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Mr. Aldrich offered the substitute and said nothing. Mr. Allison, in terms, declared it unworthy his consideration and put his support of free sugar on another ground. Mr. Sherman, with grim humor, laughed at Mr. Hale for "whittling down his magnificent theory" to the proportions of the Aldrich amendment, and then he disdainfully said that the latter itself was "not a work he could take any great pride about." Thus was framed the section of the tariff act which is now falsely palmed off on the people as a reciprocity provision, and about which, to adapt a phrase of Mr. Disraeli's, the Republican party has lately been cackling as if it had laid an egg.

Mr. Hale, who, like Mark Tapley, believes in cheerfulness and in "going it strong," solemnly avers that this section has "floated" the entire bill. The President, who looked coldly upon reciprocity when he communicated Mr. Blaine's letter to Congress, now sings its praises. Mr. McKinley, who refused to touch it when Mr. Blaine offered him the first chance to do so, who reported the Senate amendment to the House with the "hope" that it would realize the expectations of those who fathered it, and who, several months after his bill went into effect, had forgotten entirely that reciprocity had anything to do with putting sugar on the free list, has also joined the chorus. A special bureau has been organized in the State Department to keep up the cackling, while the Department of Agriculture and the Bureau of Statistics are each making as much noise as if reciprocity were its own peculiar egg.

Let us see for a moment what the visible fruits of this great scheme have been, and whether those fruits justify all this official noise. The President communicated to Congress on the 27th of June a report from the Secretary of State setting forth that twelve agreements had been made as follows: with Brazil, Spain as to her colonies Cuba and Puerto Rico, Santa Domingo, the German Empire, Salvador, the British West India Islands, Nicaragua, Guatemala, Costa Rica, Honduras, France and her colonies (not yet ratified by the French Chambers), and with Austria-Hungary. Surely all these treaties ought to make a decided showing in our commercial reports. Yet when we turn to the latest report of the Bureau of Statistics, containing a summary statement of the imports and exports of the United States for the year ending June 30, 1892, and examine the tabular statement of "trade with countries with which reciprocity treaties are in force," we read at its bottom, "*Of countries with which we have reciprocity treaties, Brazil and Cuba are the only countries with which our trade shows marked*

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change." This justifies us in omitting other countries, even those with which our trade has decreased under reciprocity, and in examining the trade returns as to these two countries alone.

Reciprocity has been in force with Brazil since April 1, 1891. We find our exports with that country for the fifteen months under the treaty to June 30, 1892, amounted in value to $18,044,452, as against $16,279,969 for the previous fifteen months, an increase of $1,764,483. This may seem a gratifying exhibit. That would be a hasty conclusion. In the first place, the increase in our exports to Brazil from the fiscal year 1890 to the fiscal year 1891 was $2,150,000, a much larger growth than under the fifteen months of reciprocity. Secondly, our imports from Brazil in these fifteen months increased fifty-seven million dollars; and it is almost incredible that the momentum of this increase should have carried with it so trifling an expansion of our exports. Thirdly, let us look into the items of our increased exportations. Wheat was admitted free before the treaty. Flour is made free by the treaty. Our flour export increased by $1,745,000, while our wheat export decreased by $779,000, a mere shifting in the form of the export, while its quantity has not kept pace with the increase of our exports to countries where no reciprocity treaties exist, due to our unprecedented crops of last year. In steam engines an increase in value of $1,028,989 is given, but locomotives were already on the free list, as also, it would seem, all other engines. *Thus nearly two-thirds of the whole increase in our exports to Brazil was in articles not affected by the commercial treaty.*

In the Cuban trade a better showing appears. For the ten months under reciprocity our exports increased $5,702,197 over like exports for the same period of 1891. But the increase in breadstuffs was only one-fourth of this total, and as we sent more breadstuffs everywhere than ever before, and as we bought nearly twelve million dollars' worth more from Cuba than in the previous ten months, it is hard to see much encouragement for the farmer—sorely distressed, as Mr. Blaine tells us, by narrowing markets for his wheat—or for any one else. Indeed, if we were to gain the whole wheat and flour market of Cuba, it would not consume the crop of a moderate county in the Dakotas or in Washington.

The statistician goes on to state that our exports to all the countries south of us with which reciprocity treaties are in force, from the time these treaties went into effect to June 30 last, amounted to $42,328,678, an increase of $8,132,329, or 23.78 per cent, over those of

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the corresponding prior period. But he neglects to add that our imports from these countries during the same period rose from one hundred and fifty-six to two hundred and twenty-five millions in value, or more than fifty per cent, and that our entire exports for last year increased nearly one hundred and fifty million dollars, which is more than accounted for by the phenomenal crops which sent our breadstuffs export up from one hundred and twenty-eight to two hundred and ninety-nine million dollars. And he neglects to add that the increase in the value of our export of cattle alone to the United Kingdom was as large last year as the entire increase under reciprocity with the nations south of us, or that our export of corn to that kingdom increased more than twice, of flour about twice, and of wheat nearly eight times as much as this entire increase under trade treaties with those nations.

The length of this article forbids any consideration of the individual treaties or any inquiry into the probable growth of our trade with the several nations with whom we have made these treaties. Enough has been said, I believe, to show that the only purpose of the Aldrich amendment was to get rid as easily as possible of the Blaine proposition and at the same time to delude the people into the belief that something had been done to carry out Mr. Blaine's ideas. All that has been gained or may be gained under that amendment belongs to the *de minimis* and shows how little informed the President was when, replying to Major McKinley's speech of notification, he declared that "new markets abroad of large and increasing value, long obstinately closed to us, have been opened on favored terms to our meats and breadstuffs" under the operation of these commercial treaties. The platform adopted by the late Democratic convention at Chicago was therefore fully justified in denouncing "the sham reciprocity which juggles with the people's desire for enlarged foreign markets and freer exchanges, by pretending to establish closer trade relations for a country whose articles of export are almost exclusively agricultural products with other countries that are also agricultural, while erecting a custom-house barrier of prohibitory tariff taxes against the richest countries of the world, that stand ready to take our entire surplus of products and to exchange therefor commodities which are necessaries and comforts of life among our own people."

I ought not to end this paper without saying that the President, by virtue of the authority vested in him and in obedience to the duty imposed upon him, has issued his proclamation imposing the duties

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provided by the law upon imports from Hayti, Colombia, and Venezuela. The question arises why he does not take the same course as to the Argentine Republic, which quite as obstinately as these little countries refuses to lower her duties on our products. Is he afraid of the political effect in New England of a duty on Argentine hides? At any rate, the power to strike a dangerous blow at our great leather and shoe industries ought not to be in the hands of any candidate for the office of President of the United States. The temptation to secure or compel political support and pecuniary campaign contributions through the menace of this power, absent altogether, it may be, from the mind of the candidate himself, is too strong not to be used by the less scrupulous managers of a Presidential campaign.

WM. L. WILSON.

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WRITERS AND SUBJECTS IN THE OCTOBER FORUM.

LEWIS A. SAYRE (*Cholera: The Lesson of Preceding Epidemics*), born in Bottle Hill (now Madison), N. J., in 1820, was graduated at Transylvania University, Kentucky, in 1838, and at the College of Physicians and Surgeons in 1842. In 1853 he became surgeon at Bellevue Hospital, and when, on his suggestion, the Bellevue Hospital Medical College was established, he was made professor of orthopædic surgery. In 1860-66 he was resident physician of the city of New York, during which he did much to prevent the entrance of the cholera into the city. He has won distinction as one of the leading surgeons of the world, chiefly for his treatment of natural deformities. He has represented this country at many of the medical congresses in Europe, has published several books and a great number of scientific articles, and he is a member of the leading medical societies of Europe and America.

J. M. RICE (*Our Public-School System: Evils in Baltimore*), born in Philadelphia in 1857, attended the College of the City of New York, and was graduated from the New York College of Physicians and Surgeons in 1881. He practised his profession until 1888, and then devoted himself to the study of the mental and physical development of children. For this purpose he took a course in psychology and pedagogy at the universities of Jena and Leipzig, after which he visited the schools of various European countries.

JOHN J. MCCOOK (*Venal Voting: Methods and Remedies*), born in Ohio in 1843, was graduated at Trinity College, Hartford, Conn. After service as a volunteer in the Civil War he studied law, medicine, and theology, entered the Episcopal ministry, and spent over a year in foreign travel. For ten years he has taught modern languages in Trinity, where he is still a professor. Since 1890 he has given considerable study to the questions of pauperism, drunkenness, and crime in this country and in Europe.

PIERRE LOTI (*The Literature of the Future*), the pen-name of Jules Viaud, born in La Rochelle, France, in 1850, entered the French navy and is now commander of the "*Javelot*." His first book, "Rarahu; or, The Marriage of Loti," published about half a dozen years ago, made him famous and placed him among the leading modern writers of the romantic school. The best-known of his works that followed it are "An Iceland Fisherman," "Mme. Chrysanthème," and "The Book of Pity and of Death." He was recently elected a member of the French Academy.

DAVID DUDLEY FIELD (*The Primary the Pivot of Reform*), born at Haddam, Conn., in 1805, was graduated at Williams College in 1825 and admitted to the bar in 1828. He has devoted himself to his practice and to reform in law and politics. He is one of the most eminent living authorities on law. He has received several appointments for the work of law-reform, among them one in 1857 to prepare a political, penal, and civil code for the State of New York. In 1873 he prepared for the Social Science Con-

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gress "Outlines of an International Code." This led to the formation of an association for a revision of the law of nations, and Mr. Field became its first president. He has published "Speeches, Arguments and Miscellaneous Papers" and contributed many articles to periodicals.

BISHOP HENRY C. POTTER (*Sunday and the Columbian Exposition*), born in Schenectady, N. Y., in 1835, was educated at the Episcopal Theological Seminary of Virginia. He was successively rector of churches at Greensburg, Pa., and Troy, N. Y., assistant rector at Trinity Church, Boston, and rector of Grace Church, New York. In 1883 he became assistant to his uncle, the late Bishop Horatio Potter, whom he succeeded in 1887 as Bishop of New York.

LUCIUS B. SWIFT (*Civil-Service Reform: A Review of Two Administrations*), born in Yates, N. Y., in 1844. At seventeen he enlisted as a private, and served nearly three years as a Union soldier. After his graduation at Michigan University, in 1870, he studied law, and is now a lawyer in active practice at Indianapolis. He has devoted much time in behalf of the movement for civil-service reform. He was for two years president of the Indiana Civil Service Reform Association, and is now editor of the "Civil Service Chronicle," published in Indianapolis.

JOHN T. DOYLE (*Civil-Service Reform: A Decade of the Merit System*) was educated in the public schools of New York City and is by profession a lawyer. In 1877 he was appointed a clerk in the New York Post-office, where the signal success of the reform methods under Postmaster James led the way to the present system. In 1883, upon the organization of the United States Civil Service Commission, he became its stenographer, and in 1886 he was appointed its Secretary by President Cleveland. His long experience in connection with the Commission has made him one of the leading authorities on the history of Civil Service Reform in this country.

JANE ADDAMS (*An Effort Toward Social Democracy*) is the daughter of Hon. John H. Addams, for many years State Senator from Northern Illinois. Since her graduation at Rockford College, Ill., in 1881, she has been a trustee of the institution. In 1889 she opened Hull House with Miss Ellen G. Starr.

NELSON W. ALDRICH (*The McKinley Act and the Cost of Living*), born in Foster, R. I., in 1841, after receiving an academic education entered business. He was president of the Providence Common Council in 1871-73, a member of the general assembly in 1875-76, speaker of the house of representatives in 1876, and was sent to Congress in 1878 and 1880. In 1881 he was elected to the United States Senate and re-elected in 1886. His term will expire in 1893.

WILLIAM L. WILSON (*The Republican Policy of Reciprocity*), born in Virginia in 1843, was educated at Columbian College, District of Columbia, and at the University of Virginia. After serving in the Confederate Army he held for several years a professorship in Columbian College, which he resigned in order to practise law. In 1882 he became president of West Virginia University, and resigned the next year to enter Congress, to which he had been elected as a Democrat. He has been several times re-elected. He is a man of scholarly attainments, an authority on political and economic subjects, and he has a high reputation as a legislator.

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